Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-013
Thursday
21 January 1988

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Bogachev Criticizes Kampelman Remarks
LD201811 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—BY TASS Military News Writer V. Bogachev:

The head of the American delegation to the Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space armaments has said that attainment of an accord on reduction of strategic offensive armaments does not depend on solution of the problem of non-militarisation of outer space.

The tone and the content of Max Kampelman's interview to the American NBC Television Company prompt the thought that certain circles in the United States are not against departing from the agreed upon provisions of the joint Soviet-American statement at a summit level, recorded in Washington. Max Kampelman's assertion that allegedly in the past few days the Soviets definitely somewhat approached the U.S. Administration's Star Wars stand, may only make one smile. Max Kampelman is obviously trying to engage in wishful thinking...

The organic link between drafting the treaty on strategic offensive armaments and the obligation to observe the ABM Treaty as it was signed in 1972 was reaffirmed in no uncertain terms in the course of the summit meeting one month and a half ago. And the treaty as it was signed in 1972 says that each party undertakes not to deploy ABM systems for a defence of the territory of its country (Article 1) and Article 5 of the same treaty says that each party undertakes not to develop, test, or deploy space-based ABM systems.

Now the head of the American delegation to the Geneva negotiations pretends that there were neither the ABM Treaty nor the joint statement. He says that the United States will carry out the Strategic Defence Initiative providing for development of the system of anti-missile defence of the whole territory of the country, based on strike armaments in outer space.

The head of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva negotiations is trying to distort the meaning of the provisions agreed upon by both sides with an irresponsible easiness which casts doubt on the U.S. reputation as a partner to the negotiations.

U.S. Nuclear Arms 'Modernization' Plans
LD210936 Moscow TASS in English 0852 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—"The Soviet-American INF Treaty by no means raises the problem of the modernization of those types of armaments that are not mentioned in it. The appeals for a compensation nuclear armament coming from Washington reflect the views of opponents of nuclear disarmament", Geliy Batenin, expert for military problems of the CPSU Central Committee, said in a TASS interview today.

Commenting on a statement of Marlin Fitzwater, spokesman for the White House, at a briefing in the U.S. Department of State, to the effect that, in the opinion of the U.S., it has the right to go on with the modernization of nuclear weapon systems in Europe and that this modernization is 'definitely permitted' within the framework of the INF Treaty, the Soviet expert said: "These are nothing but attempts to create a theoretical foundation for by-passing the Soviet-American treaty which allegedly threatens NATO's security. This stand reflects the obsolete thinking which had already resulted in a threat of a nuclear catastrophe for humanity. A new thinking is a quest for ways to get rid of nuclear weapons. This is what people should be urged to do", Batenin said.

[Moscow TASS English repeats this item at 0921 GMT, but changes paragraph two, first sentence to read: "Commenting on a statement of Marlin Fitzwater, spokesman for the White House, to the effect that, in the opinion of the U.S., it has the right to go on with the modernization of nuclear weapon systems in Europe and that this modernization is 'definitely permitted' within the framework of the INF Treaty, the Soviet expert said: 'These are nothing but attempts to create a theoretical foundation for by-passing the Soviet-American treaty which allegedly threatens NATO's security.'"]

Biryukov on Calls for Conventional Arms Buildup
LD190231 Moscow TASS in English 0142 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—TASS Political News Analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

Washington increasingly urges Tokyo to begin to upgrade and deploy 'conventional' arms. Quite recently, at the end of last year, it was suggested that Japan participate in the so-called Balanced Technological Initiative (BTI) which, in plain language, means the development of fundamentally new types of non-nuclear arms with enhanced accuracy and destructive power.

Describing the BTI, the Japanese YOMIURI SHIMBUN newspaper pointed out that "it is aimed at enhancing the deterrent might with regard to the Soviet Union on the basis of a balanced consolidation of the military potential of the West" and is connected with "the need for greater strengthening (following the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles) of conventional arms as compared with the present level and proceeding from the considerations of strategy with regard to the USSR".

A repeated suggestion on that score was made to Tsutomu Kawara, head of Japan's National Defence Agency, who left for the United States for a visit, during his stop-over at Hawaii.

Admiral Ronald Hays, commander of the U.S. Armed Forces in the area of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, urged Japan to build up its defence capability in order to keep pace with the achievements of the newest technology in the military field.

Motivating the suggestion, the admiral, as is now fashionable in the West, laid emphasis on an ostensibly widening gap between East and West in conventional arms following the signing of the INF Treaty, and emphasized that a similar situation was arising in the Far East as well.

One has to state that the calls to Japan to join an arms race in a new direction fall on fertile ground. The personnel of Japan's Defence Agency, where until recently Soviet SS-20 missiles were viewed as the chief argument to substantiate the increase in military expenditures and the strengthening of military cooperation with the USA, are now in a hurry to look for a new pretext for stepping up military preparations and perceive it in a mythical "build-up of Soviet military might in the Far East".

It is precisely the search for such a pretext that explains the evaluation of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty as the one which "did not change the military situation in Asia". And, once the situation "has not changed", and once the "Soviet threat is growing", it means, they argue, that Japan should urgently build up its military potential.

Commenting on the situation that has developed, YOMIURI SHIMBUN newspaper writes that through a massive build up of conventional arms U.S. military circles intend now "to make up for the losses" which, as they think, they incurred as a result of the signing of the INF Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Incidentally, such a conclusion is also evidenced by recommendations by the presidential commission on a U.S. strategy for the next 20 years speak in favour of such a conclusion: to develop high-accuracy non-nuclear weapons of destruction capable of more effectively and selectively destroy targets deep in enemy territory. [sentence as received]

The same is also the goal of the conclusions of a Pentagon report which came into the possession of the newspaper. The report says about the need to establish most close contacts with Japan in the field of the development of the newest types of non-nuclear arms and military satellite systems enabling Western countries to ensure technological and military superiority.

As far as Pentagon planners' hopes to achieve "superiority" are concerned, one can have no doubt that a transfer of the arms race to a new sphere may undermine the military-strategic stability which has been achieved with such difficulty.

For, like in the past, this would make the Soviet Union find an adequate reply to that challenge as well. Besides, an undermining of the military-strategic stability would again sharply increase distrust, raise the level of tension, and enhance the probability that even the smallest-scale conflict would run out of control.

Did Tokyo decide to share the questionable laurels of the opponents of reduction and elimination of arms and the advocates of increased hostility and military confronation on earth with the bellicose circles of the USA and some other NATO countries?

Las Vegas Symposium on Nuclear Tests Held

LD171728 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] San Francisco January 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladislav Orlov reports:

"A new thinking is needed for the survival of humanity". These words by the great physicist Albert Einstein are the theme of a scientific symposium on the problem of the termination of nuclear tests which is under way in Las Vegas, Nevada. It is being held on the initiative of the international movement international Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and other influential U.S. public organizations, for instance, the Economic Priorities Council, the Environmental Protection Council, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Sierra Club and the Union of Concerned Scientists.

Participants in the symposium are discussing questions connected with the economic and social consequences of nuclear weapons tests, their impact on natural environment and people's health, as well as prospects of reaching agreement on a general and complete nuclear tests ban. The Environmental Protection Council organized in the conference hall an exhibition of seismic equipment which it uses in the realization jointly with the USSR Academy of Sciences of a project for control over nuclear tests in the USSR and the U.S. and made public the data accumulated by scientists of the two countries.

Participants in the symposium heard with interest a report of the Environmental Protection Council that cited figures on nuclear tests in the U.S. According to the report, the U.S. has conducted at least 919 nuclear tests in the atmosphere and underground since 1945. A total capacity of all the explosions exceeds 174 million kilotons, which is equal to the capacity of 11,500 atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima. The U.S. officially announced only 302 nuclear tests. However, using the data of seismic observations for many years, scientists came to the conclusion that 117 secret explosions had been conducted. William Arkin, one of the authors of the report, pointed out that it was important to call the attention to the scope of the secret tests which accounted for over 10 per cent of their overall number.

Speaking at the symposium, Congressman Edward Markey urged to work for the immediate termination of nuclear weapons tests. He said that if that goal was attained today it could prevent the development of a whole generation of new types of nuclear weapons.

Peter Zheutlin, representative of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear war, told TASS by telephone that the symposium was a tremendous success. It is being attended by some 300 scientists and activists of anti-war organizations from seven countries. This opportunity to exchange information and views on the problem of a universal nuclear test ban which is of vital importance for humanity will undoubtedly promote the attaining of this goal, he said.

Korionov on Status of World Communist Movement
PM191139 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by Political Observer Vitaliy Korionov: "At the Crossing"]

[Text] I recently had a meeting with a group of Moscow students. The young people questioned me in detail about whether the international communist movement really is experiencing the "profound crisis" which the bourgeois press persistently claims, about the reasons for the difficulties the communist movement is experiencing and whether it can cope with them. Now the editorial office has received a letter from Yerevan, whose author, Kh.G. Sarkisyan, writes anxiously that in some countries the process of the "splitting up of the forces of the working class" is under way and one of its expressions is the emergence of the so-called parallel communist parties. The editorial office receives many such letters. As a result it occurred to me to talk about some of these issues in the newspaper.

I think it should be noted first of all that the world communist movement is as multifaceted as the world today. Communist and workers parties are operating in over 100 countries. Yet these countries are at different stages of social development and the position within the parties consequently varies. Of course, all detachments of the world revolutionary anti-imperialist movement have problems and difficulties. But the strength of the communist vanguard lies in the fact that it not only sees these difficulties but knows how to find the most correct ways of overcoming them.

The main gain of the international revolutionary movement is the world socialist system. Socialism today is an inalienable and leading part of the world development of civilization. Millions of workers can see that socialism has a self-critical approach toward the assessment of the past and responds boldly to the challenge of the future. The socialist countries focus their efforts on realizing as fully as possible the potential contained in their social system and on renewing and augmenting its magnetic power.

The following figures are also eloquent. Seven decades ago there were 400,000 Communists in the world and the figure now is over 85 million, including many millions in the capitalist countries. Yet becoming a Communist in a capitalist country is often a kind of exploit. In the nonsocialist part of the world the communist parties are still the main target not only of political pressure but also of repressions.

I shall restrict myself to one example: It emerged during the "Irangate" scandal that, in addition to weapons, the CIA and the Israeli intelligence had supplied the Iranian side with the names of Communists and other progressive Iranians. As a result, according to press reports, up to 200 members of the Iran People's Party were executed and thousands of progressive figures have been imprisoned.

I write these lines but I can already hear the voice of my opponents: But surely it is not only because of repressions that the numerical strength of the communist parties is declining in a number of countries. In some states the number of votes cast for the Communist candidates at elections is declining. Yes, unfortunately that is so. For instance, the Italian Communists had to carry out a serious analysis of the results of the unscheduled parliamentary elections held in Italy in June 1987. As is well-known, at these elections 782,000 fewer voters voted for the Italian Communist Party candidates than 4 years ago. It is true that the Italian Communist Party succeeded, with the aid of a vigorous campaign, of putting into parliament the largest number of women in its entire history. But young people's votes were to a considerable extent lost to the party—the Communists were supported by only 17% of voters under the age of 25.

Here it must be said that there is also a decline in the influence of other left-wing forces in West European countries where right-wing conservative forces were able in the second half of the seventies to deliver serious blows against working class organizations and to put left-wing parties and movements in a difficult position. Under these conditions differences were intensified within some parties, which in a number of cases led to a split.

Even Lenin used to warn that the revolutionary process is a wise, difficult, and complex science. In recent decades the development of this process has been even further complicated. This situation demands that Communists consider their activity critically and seek new ways and means of work among the masses. It must be frankly admitted—and this was stated aloud at the congresses of a number of West European communist parties—that some traditional left-wing forces are definitely being laggardly in drawing conclusions from the changes taking place in society and from the emergence of new forms of protest against various aspects of the capitalist system—a protest which reflects the desire to "live differently" rather than to radically reform society. I think, however, that this is the cost of the communist movement's entry into a qualitatively new stage of development.

"The international communist movement," the report "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" notes, "is at a crossroads, as is world progress itself and its motive forces. The Communist parties are seeking their new place in the profound changes at the boundary between two centuries. Their international movement is being renewed, rallied by respect for the renewed norms of trust, equality, and sincere solidarity.

It is open for dialogue, for cooperation, for collaboration, and for alliance with any other revolutionary, democratic, and progressive forces."

In our time it is extremely important that the coalition of reason and peace taking shape on the planet should expand and become an increasingly effective political factor, giving powerful support to processes and trends aimed at safeguarding peace on the planet and reducing the threat of nuclear self-destruction. The universal approval by the world public of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles can serve as a recent example of this.

In the nuclear age, when the emergence of weapons of mass destruction has put man's very existence in question, no other general human or class problems can be resolved without resolving the problem of war and peace. General human, general democratic, and class problems have become too closely intertwined in our time. The objective link between the antiwar struggle and the social struggle does exist, but how to implement it in practice is a far from simple matter; in my view not everyone in the communist movement has yet mastered this complex art.

The line toward enlisting increasingly broad strata of the population to the active struggle against the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and for man's survival is designed to make it possible to combine the struggle for peace and for man's survival with the working class' struggle for its class interests and goals. The Communists are bringing to the movement of peace fighters their knowledge and rich political experience and in turn are gaining access to the experience of others. Embarking on contacts even with those organizations, movements, and figures which do not share our world outlook and have different positions from us, having no fear of discussions, and knowing how to listen to their opponents' opinion—that is the Communists' position.

The world recently witnessed the beneficial results to which this new political thinking can lead. I have in mind the meeting of representatives of the parties and movements who took part in the jubilee celebrations in connection with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

It was a truly unique forum. Some 100 delegations from communist and workers parties; 40 delegations from revolutionary-democratic parties and national liberation movements; 30 delegations from socialist, social-democratic, and labor parties (counting a delegation from the Socialist International); delegations from the International Congress, the Finnish Center Party, the "Greens," and several others—that was the spectrum of the public movements represented at the meeting.

The meeting, as is well-known, was of an informal nature. There was no official report, no general concluding document at the meeting. There was a free exchange of opinions. Those who did not manage to address the auditorium submitted the texts of their speeches in written form and they were all published in PRAVDA. Naturally, viewpoints with which many people disagreed were expressed here. But that after all is the point of dialogue.

The communist parties confirmed that they are wide open for the exchange of opinions and for cooperation with all left-wing democratic forces. In turn many representatives of socialist, social-democratic, and labor parties noted that they are also in the process of a critical consideration of the world today and of their movement and are renewing their program and political goals.

The meeting thus shed light on an important political aspect of the present day: A very promising future is opened up for the development of dialogue at party level in the international democratic and progressive movement on the most burning issues of peace and disarmament. Powerful impetus has been lent to the development and deepening of relations between the two main trends of the workers movement—the Communists and the social democrats.

At the same time the meeting confirmed that there is a strengthening understanding in the workers and liberation movement of the fact that not all existing opportunities are yet being used to resolve the urgent tasks of our time.

This was stated persuasively by representatives of the communist movement, which is not only a national force but also, by its very nature, an international one. Listening to the speakers, talking in the corridors with the forum's participants, you could convince yourself that they are worried by the stagnation phenomena revealed in some links of the communist movement. It was noted that the communist movement is in need of renewal and of qualitative changes.

Internationalism has been and remains a tested weapon of the struggle for the working people's interests and for the social progress of nations and ethnic groups. Life today puts foremost the development of international ties between all the planet's peace-loving forces.. Many emotional words were spoken about this at the meeting. "The world," G. Hall, the leader of the U.S. Communists, said, for instance, "needs a new level of unity to put an end to U.S. aggression against Nicaragua and unity is needed in the struggle for the elimination of the regimes in South Africa and Chile. Today a new level of working class internationalism and of unity in the international communist movement is needed. Internationalism must be a living, active force. Unity in the struggle is the most modern thrust of internationalism."

The communist movement is diverse. But diversity is not synonymous with diffusion, just as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, with some parties' interference in the affairs of others, or with some party's desire

for a monopoly of the truth. The main thing uniting the Communists of different countries is their bold, creative approach toward new realities on the basis of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and their class solidarity.

If that is so—and it is so—then the communist movement will be able to cope successfully with the tasks facing it at a qualitatively new stage of development.

Warsaw Pact Delegates' Discuss Force Reductions

PM181655 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference in Moscow"]

[Text] A conference of the heads of the Warsaw Pact delegations to the all-European meeting in Vienna and at the Warsaw Pact-NATO consultations on the elaboration of a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals took place 15 January in Moscow. A series of questions relating to the Vienna meeting and to the aforementioned consultations was discussed in a comradely atmosphere.

Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; S.F. Akhromeyev, first deputy defense minister and chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; and A.L. Adamishin and V.P. Loginov, USSR deputy foreign ministers, took part in the work of the conference.

Pact Human Rights Experts Confer in Sofia

PM201435 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A session of the working group of Warsaw Pact experts on issues concerning human rights and cooperation in the humanitarian sphere was held in Sofia 12-13 January. The experts discussed progress made in the discussion of these issues at the Vienna meeting and exchanged opinions on the possibilities of speeding up preparation of the relevant agreements and ways to do so.

CEMA Panel Examines Resource Saving

PM200953 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Attention to Supply"]

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Jan—A regular session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Material and Technical Supply has ended in the Romanian capital. The session was chaired by L.A. Voronin, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and USSR Gossnab chairman.

The session examined proposals for the organization of work on saving resources, particularly ensuring the fulfillment of the new sectoral and intersectorial programs and agreements adopted for elaboration in this sphere, improving warehousing and packaging facilities, and other questions of cooperation stemming from the resolutions of the 43d (extraordinary) sitting of the council session.

The committee examined the results of the work done in 1987 in CEMA organs on resource saving and also a report on the work of the CEMA Standing Commission on Cooperation in the Sphere of the Chemical Industry regarding questions of the rational and economical utilization of fuel, energy, raw materials, semimanufactures, and secondary resources.

CEMA Seminar on Soviet Ergonomics Expertise

LD192039 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—The application of Soviet specialists' developments in the field of ergonomics at several postal communications branches has made it possible to save 41 million in just 1 year in the USSR. Labor productivity has gone up 10%, it was noted at a postal communications seminar of the CEMA member countries which is taking place here. The possibility of using Soviet experience in a direct application of ergonomics to the production process was one of the main themes at a meeting of specialists of the socialist countries.

During the seminar matters are also being discussed relating to the elaboration of a unified methodological approach, which is essential for the creation of automation and mechanization systems, and to the search for the optimal organization of the working place and regimes for work and rest. Those taking part in the seminar are studying the possibility of further joint developments and exchanges of research results.

Soviet specialists have elaborated an assessment of the ergonomic level which the specialists of Bulgaria, Poland, and Hungary are already beginning to use. This will make it possible to enhance the efficiency of work in postal communications branches and design postal equipment in a better way.

CEMA Electrical, Nuclear Power Group Meets

LD202207 Moscow International Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] The first constituent session of the CEMA Standing Commission for Cooperation in the Sphere of Electrical Energy and Nuclear Power has been held in Moscow. Prior to the existence of this new body, there were two CEMA commissions, one for cooperation in electrical energy and one for nuclear energy. Now a new standing commission has been found that incorporates the roles of both. This is one of the first signs of

restructuring in the CEMA mechanism. Now, when the countries of socialist community are shifting to the path of scientific-technical progress and intensification of production, it is clear it is also necessary to improve the CEMA structure by clearing out—among other things—its narrowly specialized bodies.

It is noteworthy that the new commission deals with a sphere of key importance for the implementation of the plans to improve national economies. Securing electrical energy for the fraternal states is the main effort in this sector. The greatest attention is paid to the advancement of nuclear power energy production as a sphere with the greatest prospects.

It must be said that CEMA partners achieved remarkable results by close cooperation in the construction of nuclear power stations. Nuclear power stations in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, and the USSR today produce over 220 billion kilowatt hours of electric energy, the production of which would require over 80 million tonnes of organic fuel.

The electricity produced by nuclear power stations comprises approximately 10% of all power in the CEMA countries. This is to go up to 40% by the end of the century. How will this be achieved? Above all, by implementing an division of international labor in the production of equipment for nuclear power stations.

We have already gained the necessary experience. The majority of reactors for our friends is produced by the USSR; and Czechoslovakia is also increasing production. Other European CEMA countries produce various types of equipment and instruments. This production rate, however, is insufficient and must be accelerated. The new standing commission is to play a part in this. The development of relevant technology and new methods of construction of nuclear power stations will enable the successful accomplishment of the tasks contained in the general agreement on cooperation in developing the linked power systems of the CEMA countries and those of Cuba, Vietnam, and Mongolia that are to be built up to the year 2000.

The construction of new nuclear power stations, new nuclear heat-producing stations; securing their safety; the construction of large thermal and hydropower stations; and the preparation of the cadres—this is far from the complete range of issues with which the new commission will deal. A qualitatively new body has been created in the headquarters of economic cooperation of fraternal countries.

Permanent Commission Meets

PM181529 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Cooperation"]

[Text] The First (Constituent) Session of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in the Sphere of Electrical Power and Nuclear Power Engineering was held in Moscow 14-15 January.

The following delegations took part in the commission session: Bulgaria, Hungary, the SRV, the GDR, the Republic of Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, and the CSSR.

An SFRY delegation took part in the session.

Representatives from the CEMA countries' Integrated Power Systems Central Flow Control Administration Board and representatives from Interatomenergo [International Economic Association for Cooperation in the Production of Nuclear Power Stations] and "Interatominstrument" [International Economic Association for Cooperation in Nuclear Instrument Building] took part in the work of the commission.

Draft statutes for the commission and proposals regarding its standing working organs and the 1988 work plan were examined.

Conference on Lenin, Cooperatives Ends

PM201035 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "International Conference"]

[Text] An international conference, "Lenin's teaching on cooperatives and present-day problems of accelerating the development of the socialist countries' agrarian sector," ended yesterday at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. It generalized the socialist countries' experience in developing Lenin's ideas on cooperatives. The conference was addressed by agrarian scientists from higher party educational establishments in the socialist countries.

NATO 'Division of Labor' Serves Gulf Presence

PM211021 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Candidate of Military Sciences Lieutenant Colonel S. Leonidov article: "NATO Is Acting According to the 'Division of Labor' Principle in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] It has become known that the FRG leadership has decided to dispatch yet another navy formation to the Mediterranean to replace the U.S. warships that the Pentagon is transferring to the Persian Gulf region. Earlier it was announced that five other West European countries (Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands) have also reached an agreement to the effect that they ought to maintain the presence of their naval forces in the Persian Gulf. Thus, the internationalization of the conflict in this area of the world is taking on clearer forms. To one degree or another, it affects the interests of a considerable number of countries by also involving in Persian Gulf events those whose commercial vessels and tankers come under fire and are blown up by mines almost daily in Gulf waters. As a result in 1987 alone, 165 ships under various countries' flags were seriously damaged.

A pressing need has arisen for an urgent settlement of the Persian Gulf situation. In this context, the proposals submitted by the Soviet Union constitute a concrete step toward resolving the problem. They propose the withdrawal from the Gulf of the naval forces of countries that are not part of the said region. They also propose creating special formations under the UN flag to guarantee the safety of shipping here. However, these proposals have not as yet met with support from the United States and its allies. Furthermore, measures are being adopted with regard to a further buildup of the military presence in the Persian Gulf and the approaches to it, which is leading to an even greater escalation of tension fraught with the threat of serious consequences.

Let us recall that the question of a direct military presence in the Gulf region was included in U.S. and NATO plans for the first time at the turn of the seventies, that is, after the anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan and the overthrow of the monarchy in Iran. Many Western strategists then agreed with the viewpoint of J. Schlesinger, former U.S energy secretary, who said the "security of NATO countries has become insufficient since it does not ensure protection of the energy resources on which the bloc countries are so dependent."

This stance was taken up by the Reagan administration, which resolved to enlist from its NATO allies all-embracing support for its actions in the Gulf and to impart a coalition nature to these actions. Fortunately, there was also a suitable argument: West Europe annually receives from the OPEC countries—the majority of which are Gulf states—something in the order of 60% of its imported oil, whereas in the United States the amount of oil obtained from the countries of the Persian Gulf amounts to only 6% of all oil imports. Precisely in light of this situation, Washington also put massive pressure on its West European allies, seeking "real" help from them in implementing the "program to protect common interests" in the Gulf zone. Thus, NATO found itself facing a dilemma: Either to add the appropriate protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty and extend its geographical framework to include in the bloc's "zone of responsibility" the Near East and the Persian Gulf region, or reassign roles within the alliance to ensure permanent military control over the Gulf in the West's interests without violating the articles of the treaty.

As is well-known, the idea of extending NATO's "zone of responsibility" did not win broad support from the West Europeans. Even U.S. General Rogers, former NATO supreme allied commander in Europe, thought that extending the geographical framework would be "politically impossible" considering above all the powerful opposition from West European countries with regard to any idea of bloc armed forces' participation in foreign campaigns.

In this situation, in the opinion of the NATO leadership, the redistribution of commitments within the North Atlantic alliance could be the only really possible "contribution" from West Europe to a common Western strategy in the Persian Gulf zone. In February 1980, FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher stated outright that, until such time as NATO has common interests in a zone that does not fall within the framework of the alliance's "responsibility," a "combined strategy" is necessary whereby each partner resolves the task most acceptable to it, i.e. a "division of labor" is needed. The NATO Council session held shortly after officially rejected the idea of expanding the geographical borders of the North Atlantic alliance; individual actions by bloc countries outside its zone of "responsibility" were, however, permitted. The West Europeans' refusal to take part on a coalition basis in military operations outside Europe was to be compensated by their contribution in the European theater of war, in particular by the automatic replacement of those U.S. subunits, units, and even formations assigned for transfer to a conflict region, the Persian Gulf zone, for instance.

With the present NATO naval presence in the Persian Gulf zone, the bloc leadership is also trying to effect the aforementioned concept of a "division of labor," which supposedly does not contravene either the North Atlantic Treaty or those articles of individual bloc countries' constitutions which exclude national armed forces' participation in military operations outside Europe. The final communique of NATO's Eurogroup, which met at the end of last year, talks outright about the "considerable expansion of cooperation" between West Europeans in the region, "where some of them have sent their naval forces." An obvious example of such cooperation is, say, British frigates' and destroyers' provision of tactical support, including air defense, for the operations of a Dutch-Belgian minesweeper group. Or another example:

The FRG Government is sending four warships to the Mediterranean to replace U.S. ships of the 6th Fleet that have been transferred to the Gulf zone. Incidentally, Bonn has announced its intention "to maintain a detachment of its naval forces here as long as the situation in the Persian Gulf demands it."

In other words, it is a question of the effective transformation of individual detachments of NATO countries' ships into a unified bloc naval mechanism in the region. Meanwhile, all this is at variance with the NATO concept, which excludes bloc armed forces' participation in campaigns outside its zone of "responsibility." It also goes against the general movement in the world arena, where the desire for the demilitarization of international relations has been clearly expressed recently.

Pasko Comments on Upcoming NATO Meeting
LD201911 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Commentary by Vladimir Pasko]

[Excerpts] An extraordinary session of the NATO Council at head of state and government level will take place from 2-3 March in Brussels. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the meeting has been organized to analyze the West's policy toward the Soviet Union and as a demonstration of NATO unity before President Reagan's visit to Moscow. Here is our commentor, Vladimir Pasko:

[Pasko] The progress in real nuclear disarmament achieved during the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Washington pushed into prominence the question of how to progress further. Discussing standpoints in anticipation of further important talks is apparently the aim of the leaders of the NATO countries. A dialogue is already taking place, particularly in the press. However, the direction of the discussion arouses disappointment. Talk is not about how to use the possibilities now open for further liberation from dangerous arsenals but about how to prevent it. In particular, there is discussion of how to prevent the elimination of tactical nuclear missiles in Europe, and so-called dual-purpose means, those which can strike with both conventional and nuclear artillery. This standpoint is justified by using the worn-out affirmation that the countries of the Warsaw Pact have a preponderance in conventional forces and weapons, which gives them some sort of potential for attack. It is strange that this thesis is rejected by NATO specialists.

At a briefing on 8 December, a State Department spokesman and General Burns admitted that in their personnel strength of military units and reserves, NATO and the Warsaw Pact organization are more or less equal. There is an imbalance between the blocs in the number of military equipment pieces. Specialists of the Warsaw Pact states arrive at the same conclusions, however, unlike the West, which is striving to remove the assymetry by means of building up forces we are proposing to take the line of cuts. The thesis of the military advantages of the Warsaw Pact do not reflect reality but the desire of certain NATO circles not to allow further progress in eliminating nuclear arsenals. [passage omitted]

In digging through step-by-step toward the destruction of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union has just proposed to the West discussing the issue of dual-purpose means within the Vienna Conference. This is our new initiative. It is high time for the NATO countries to look realistically at what is happening. Instead of looking for nonexistent threats, they should busy themselves with seeking ways to strengthen security and unite in this with the Soviet Union and other members of the world community.

Growing Struggle to Eliminate U.S. Bases Noted
LD182234 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] The wish of nations to uphold their sovereignty and independence is reflected in a growing struggle for ridding their territory of foreign bases. Radio Moscow's Yuriy Solton elaborates:

One of the latest examples is the agreement Spain and the United States reached last weekend. The Spanish Government won consent in principle for withdrawing 72 American nuclear-capable F-16 fighter-bombers from the Torrejon base near Madrid. In question is the future of American bases in another NATO country, Greece, where another round of Greece-American talks on the subject has ended inconclusively this month. Representatives of the All-Greece Committee for Removing Foreign Bases handed a memorandum to parliament to demand keeping the promise for pulling out American bases from the country. It is noted in the document that the Soviet-American treaty scrapping medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles brings the nation face to face with the necessity for more energetic efforts for peace and for ridding this earth of nuclear weapons.

The United States is bedevilled by the problem of bases in Turkey, Portugal, and even the Philippines, where until recently Washington had nothing to worry about. At present, the United States has more than 1,500 bases and other military facilities in 32 nations. More than 500,000 servicemen are stationed there. These bases have been often used for carrying out aggressive actions in Indochina, the Middle East, and other regions. The struggle for abolishing them is not only geared to upholding sovereignty. It is part of the worldwide movement for stamping out the nuclear threat and bringing about the real disarmament that is beginning to gain momentum.

U.S. Veto of UN Vote on Israel 'No Surprise'

LD191813 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—TASS Commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

In the vote taken at the Security Council the United States vetoed a resolution which demands an end to Israel's aggressive actions against Lebanon. The resolution calls for the sovereignty of the Lebanon, its territorial integrity and independence to be strictly respected. It stresses the need for the Israeli troops' withdrawal from the south of Lebanon to the internationally recognized frontiers in accordance with the previous Security Council's resolutions.

Washington's stand is no surprise. The U.S. Administration was in a hurry to take Tel Aviv under its protection as soon as the world community demanded that concrete steps be taken and that the Israeli aggressors be checked. On the territory of the neighbouring Arab country the Israeli aggressors are perpetrating outrages and are leading things to the gradual seizure and annexation of a number of Lebanese areas.

The United States sought to use to the utmost the results of the previous vote at the United Nations in the course of which, having abstained from the vote, it "did not prevent" the adoption of the resolution which denounces Israel's policy and practice on the occupied Arab lands, the use by the occupiers of fire-arms against civilians. Faced with all-out indignation with punitive troops' brutal repressions, Washington made calls for "more humane" methods of supressing the Palestinian popular uprising on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in a bid to create a semblance of some "condemnation" of its Israeli ally in the anti-Arab strategic alliance.

The results of the vote at the Security Council show that this "condemnation" was nothing but a diplomatic manoeuvre the United States resorts to from time to time in a bid to demonstrate a "balanced" approach to Middle Eastern affairs.

The anti-Lebanese stand of the United States actually spurs Israel's Zionist leadership to stage new provocations and crimes on the Lebanese soil, to continue and to perpetuate the illegal occupation of part of the territory of the Arab country, a full-fledge member of the United Nations.

Spokesman on 'Hope' for Peaceful Islamabad Stand

PM211025 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA-TASS report: "Trouble On the Eve of Talks"]

[Text] The Pakistani press has carried an interview with the country's president, Ziaul Haq, reiterating arguments about "USSR expansion toward warm waters," "the annexation of part of Afghan territory" (the so-called Vakhan corridor), and the USSR's involvement in organizing terrorist actions in Pakistan, a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated at a routine briefing.

However, at times Pakistani leaders also speak of their desire for normal friendly relations with the USSR. People in Moscow are in a quandary: Just how can the first be compatible with the second? The Pakistani leader's choice of moment for his anti-Soviet attack is also surprising. Soon the next round of indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks on a settlement of the Afghan situation will be held in Geneva. They have entered the home stretch and, given goodwill on both sides, could lead to conclusive accords on the entire complex of a political settlement.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that state wisdom and a desire for a most speedy settlement in Southeast Asia are will prevail in Islamabad's position.

Nor was the atmosphere at the upcoming talks benefited by a statement by a spokesman for the Afghan dushmans in Pakistan that 11 Afghan and 3 Soviet pilots were shot down and taken prisoner in the course of battles in the area around the city of Khowst. Their names were cited: Colonel Romanov, Major Sholov, and Captain Andropov. The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that according to information from the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, not a single Soviet or Afghan aircraft has been shot down at all in the region in question during this time, and thus not a single pilot has been captured.

WFTU, Trade Unions Internationals Meet

LD182329 Moscow TASS in English 2255 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Prague January 18 TASS—"The signing of the Treaty Between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is of historic significance and opens up fresh opportunities for international cooperation both at the level of inter-state relations and in the field of trade union organisations' actions," emphasizes a press communique, circulated here today, on the results of an annual consultative conference of the secretariats of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and Trade Unions Internationals (TUI).

The participants in the conference, which was held in Permon near Prague on January 13-14, discussed a number of matters connected with the activities of the WFTU and the TUI's in the field of training trade union personnel, and expanding exchanges of information in view of the step-up of anti-union propaganda in the mass media of Western countries.

The conference passed special resolutions calling for more vigorous united actions of the WFTU and the TUI's in the struggle for peace and for the rights of the

working people as well as for intensification of the trade unions' struggle against the activities of transnational corporations which conduct an offensive on the working people's rights.

Correction to Observers Roundtable Program

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "'International Observers Roundtable'" Program," published in the 19 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 19:

column two, line four: ...["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by Aleksandr Vladimirovich Zholkver... (correcting name of program)

United States & Canada

U.S. 'National Security Strategy' Report Cited

LD211023 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 21 TASS—The White House has circulated an annual report entitled "National Security Strategy of the United States". The aim of the strategy, the document points out, is to support national interests of the United States and to promote the objectives of peace. The report admits that nuclear weapons and intercontinental delivery systems "became the primary threat to national survival" of the United States.

The report emphasizes U.S. willingness to engage in negotiations "aimed at finding areas of common interests, reducing sources of tension", and that arms reduction negotiations with the Soviet Union have been placed "on a more solid basis, culminating in the first agreement between the superpowers to achieve significant reductions in nuclear arsenals".

One of the principal aims of U.S. strategy, the document says, "is to seek opportunities to improve relations with the Soviet Union on a realistic and reciprocal basis."

At the same time the report reiterates the old postulates to the effect that it is the Soviet Union that remains "the most significant threat" to the national security of the United States and its allies. Such assertions are being used by the authors of the report to justify expansion being practised by the United States.

The report has it that the United States "must maintain the capability to secure our worldwide lines of communication, to project military power quickly, to sustain forces at great distances for exptended periods of time".

The document proclaims commitment to the policy of interference in the affairs of other countries and, first of all, in those of Nicaragua and Afghanistan as well as to the "Star Wars" programme.

A preface to the report signed by President Reagan admits that "The fundamentals of our strategy change little from year to year".

Further Report

LD211423 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 21 TASS—TASS Correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports:

The White House has circulated a regular, second, report by President Reagan to the Congress on "National Security Strategy of the United States". The aim of the strategy, the report says, is to protect national interests of the United States and to promote the objectives of peace.

The report emphasises U.S. willingness to dialogue—"to engage our adversaries in negotiations aimed at finding areas of common interests, reducing sources of tension and rendering our relations more stable and predictable".

The Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty is described as historic. "Achieving verifiable agreements on broad, deep and equitable reductions in offensive nuclear arms is the highest arms control priority of the United States".

At the same time the report reaffirms the U.S. commitment to the "Star Wars" programme aimed at militarising outer space.

By and large, one of the principal objectives of the U.S. strategy, the report goes on, is "to seek opportunities to improve relations with the Soviet Union on a realistic and reciprocal basis". The report emphasises that as a result of changes taking place in the Soviet Union, "Moscow is moving in new directions, offering an array of initiatives, putting old assumptions in doubt, attracting new support internationally and sometimes placing Western governments on the defensive".

The report quite realistically takes into account the threat posed to international security by existing and potential regional conflicts. Special attention is devoted to the problem of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

At the same time Reagan reiterated the old postulates that the Soviet Union "still poses the primary security threat to the United States and its allies" and ostensibly practises "military expansion" and seeks "to dominate the Eurasian landmass".

Such assertions are being used by the authors of the report to justify the expansion being practised by the United States itself and for calling on Congress to promote further upgrading and build-up of U.S. arms. The U.S. policy with regard to the developing countries rests on such "diplomacy of strength". This is evidenced by the task being set in the report: "To ensure access to foreign markets, energy, and mineral resources by the United States and its allies". The U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf is cited as an example of the accomplishment of such a task.

The report overtly proclaims commitment to the policy of interference in the affairs of other countries, and, first of all, those of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Angola on the plea of "defending freedom and democracy".

Poll Shows Moscow Residents Favor New Summit

LD211052 Moscow TASS in English 1041 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 21 TASS—An absolute majority of respondents (93 per cent), in a public opinion poll taken in the Soviet capital by the Sociological Research

Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, spoke out in favour of a new meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan to take place in Moscow.

Many hope that a treaty on reducing strategic arms would be coordinated by the beginning of the new summit.

"Our survey," Valeriy Mansurov, the institute's deputy director, told journalists, "made it possible to find out Soviet people's attitudes to some aspects of international relations. Thus, questions connected with the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting held in December last year showed that the respondents were well informed on the subject: 84 per cent said they had attentively followed the summit proceedings, and only 16 per cent said they had not paid special attention to it".

"The opinion poll showed that respondents on the whole were satisfied with the results of the summit. Forty-two per cent of respondents evaluated its results as 'very good' and 44 per cent viewed them as 'good'."

Senator Biden Comments Before Leaving Moscow

LD160014 Moscow TASS in English 0012 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 15 (TASS)—BY TASS Correspondent Mikhail Svetlichny:

Joseph Biden, chairman of the sub-committee for European Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, left Moscow tonight. He stayed in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Asked by the TASS correspondent what, in his opinion, were the key aspects of the disarmament process, Joseph Biden said before the departure that everyone was interested in disarmament and was in favour of a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms. He said that it was on this issue that he found optimism in this country, in his country and throughout Europe.

However, he thinks that "problems of verification will again be very difficult, and "it seems," he said "as though your are prepared to have very broad verification provisions."

As for conventional arms, "in your country today and yesterday I found that there is an acknowledgment of the so-called "asymmetry". But the point is made that there are also asymmetries and predominance of forces in the West... but ... my impression is that your government is ready to discuss those things and so I think that there is the general feeling of optimism about that also."

Biden described the conversations he had in the Soviet Union as fruitful. He thinks it has become more real now to reduce arms to the lowest level.

Asked by the TASS correspondent whether he thought that the SDI was one of the main obstacles on the way to a strategic arms agreement, the senator said:

"The administration is becoming more realistic and I don't think that SDI is panacea." At the same time Joseph Biden said: "I am absolutely convinced that President Reagan on no circumstances will give up the SDI."

Joseph Biden said that during his visit he had discovered that the Soviet side was eager to search for a way out of the present situation.

Order To Rearm Contras Brings Criticism

LD202138 Moscow TASS in English 2123 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—TASS Commentator Vladimir Shekhovtsov writes:

President Reagan issued an order to the CIA to resume the supplies of armaments and ammunition to bands of contras—U.S. mercenaries that try to overthrow the Sandinist government in Nicaragua.

This decision taken despite concrete steps of the Nicaraguan Government to fulfill the Guatemalan agreements caused a stream of criticism against Reagan who has been as if in the shadow of late. The strongest pronouncements in connection with the participation in the Iran-contra affair were made against the current U.S. Vice-President Bush. As is known, the involvement in that secret operation has become one of his main problems in competing for the presidency.

Senator Alan Cranston said that the resumption of armaments deliveries to contras is another attempt by the administration to torpedo the peace process. Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs Christopher Dodd emphasized that establishment of peace in Central America runs counter to the administration's aim of eliminating the Nicaraguan Sandinist government.

Observers note that Reagan's decision to resume arms deliveries to contras is part of his administration's policy of neo-globalism whose main trends are expansionism, export of counterrevolution, overthrow of regimes that do not suit Washington. In order to achieve these aims the White House resorts to outright deception of the Congress, violation of the U.S. Constitution, misinformation and lies. In the framework of official policy, the U.S. Government directs, and supplies with arms and money the bands of contras with the use of which it wages the war against the Government of Nicaragua with which the United States has diplomatic relations.

The United States neo-globalism is certainly directed not only against Nicaragua but also against all countries of the Third World that are striving for independence and

national sovereignty. Any changes in those countries—from agrarian reforms to literacy campaigns—are viewed by Washington as "the intrigues by the Reds" or "a threat to the United States national security" with all the consequences to follow. Suffice it to recall the fact that the United States overthrew the governments that took the road of transformations in Guatemala in 1954, in Brazil in 1964, in Chile in 1973 and in Grenada in 1982.

Latin American countries and other developing countries condemn the aggressive course of the Reagan administration against Nicaraguan people against imperialism and counterrevolution. Peruvian President Alan Garcia said in an interview to the American journal "BUSINESS WEEK" that Latin American countries support Nicaragua as it is the symbol of sovereignty and independent destiny of the entire continent.

Analyst Criticizes Sigur, Policy on SE Asia

LD201802 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—Political News Analyst Askold Biryukov writes:

Assistant Secretary of State of the United States Gaston Sigur addressed a seminar on Tuesday in Kuala Lumpur organised by the Institute of Strategic and International Studies. He praised the role played by the ASEAN countries in maintaining peace and stability in Southeast Asia. But Sigur, now on a tour of these countries, added a very substantial reservation to this evaluation. He said that the concept of a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia, of turning that area into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, an idea long championed by these countries, was unacceptable. When explaining this attitude of Washington he said that this concept, if implemented, would undermine the policy of deterrence which, according to him, has served all countries well.

It shall be recalled that at the third meeting of the heads of state or government of ASEAN countries last December its participants had not only confirmed the adherence of ASEAN countries to the idea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, but also stated their resolve to step up efforts for the speediest creation of a nuclear-free zone in that part of the world as an imperative condition of fulfilling this idea.

They assessed the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, that was signed in Washington early in December, as the first major step in the field of real disarmament, strengthening universal peace and security. They also stressed that the signing of the treaty, opening up the road to new accords, was capable of imparting an incentive also to ASEAN's efforts to create a nuclear-free zone tht would become a regional contribution to efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament.

The Manila meeting evidently demonstrated the growing awareness by ASEAN countries of the danger of nuclear catastrophe threatening mankind and of the need to take urgent measures to avert it. We see, however, that their approach to this matter of crucial importance for mankind's survival, which manifested itself in the resolve to create a nuclear-free zone in Southeast Asia, has entered into conflict with Washington's policy in that area which proceeds from the logic of yesteryear and is founded on nuclear deterrence and the strategy of bases. The absurdity of the attempts by the representative of the U.S. Administration to contend that the strategy of confrontation supposedly serves well also the interests of ASEAN countries is quite obvious.

Commenting on such remarks emanating from the United States Department of State the newspaper INDONESIA TIMES wrote recently that in conditions of the obvious tendency in the world towards the liquidation or at least the reduction of nuclear arsenals and the improvement of bilateral relations between the USSR and the United States, the ASEAN countries should step up their efforts to create a nuclear-free zone.

Washington is dousing cold water on the peaceloving ideas of ASEAN countries but it is time for it at long last to take into consideration their clearly stated will and determination to ensure peace and stability in Southeast Asia and in the entire Asia-Pacific region on the basis of the cooperation of all and with due consideration for the interests of all.

Proposed U.S. Aid to Pakistan Criticized

LD201342 Moscow World Service in English 0110 GMT20 Jan 88

[Excerpts] As it has been reported in Washington, President Reagan has signed the document allowing the United States to go ahead with its military and economic aid to Pakistan. (Aleksandr Belov) has contributed this comment:

In the opinion of the newspaper WASHINGTON POST the President's message to Congress gives a green light to the plan to grant Pakistan 480 million worth of military and economic aid in the current fiscal year. This sum is only part of the new program of aid to Pakistan approved by the Congress last month. Under this program Pakistan is expected to get more than 4,000 million dollars in the form of aid in the next 6 years.

The guarantees given by the President that Pakistan has no nuclear bomb allow the administration to bypass the Symington Amendment, passed in 1976, which bans the granting of any aid to a state engaged in the development of nuclear weapons of its own. In the meantime quite a few facts have come to light proving that Pakistan goes full speed ahead developing such weapons. [passage omitted on examples cited by WASHINGTON POST]

American experts have arrived at the conclusion that Pakistan can make from four to five bombs every year, each bomb equal to the one dropped on Hiroshima in capacity. The American Administration, however, has decided to plainly ignore these obvious facts. The deputy assistant secretary, Robert Peck, has declared that the administration believes, as before, that Pakistan has no nuclear bomb of its own. The spokesman for the State Department, Charles Redman, has given the reason that lies behind such a stand. He said American aid is important because it gives Pakistan a chance to support the Afghan resistance.

In other words, the American Administration looks upon Pakistan as a stronghold for waging the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Despite its assurances of the desire to settle the Afghan situation and the consent to act as a guarantor of noninterference and also stop any aid to counterrevolutionary groupings, the American side, as the British newspaper INDEPENDENT feels, is engaged in double standard policy. On the one hand Washington demonstrates its readiness to participate in a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, and on the other it continues giving aid to extremists. During his meeting with leaders of anti-Afghan extremist groupings in Islamabad this year the under secretary of state for political affairs, Michael Armacost, reaffirmed the promise of such a help.

Significantly, President Reagan has signed the document authorizing the continuation of military and economic aid to Pakistan on the eve of the holding of another round of indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. Three out of the four documents discussed at these talks have already been finalized. There is an opportunity to complete these talks in February. It is quite possible that the American decision on aid to Pakistan is aimed at preventing this. If Pakistan decides to take a realistic stand at the Geneva talks and agree to a settlement it may lose American aid.

China

Border Experts Discuss Sino-Soviet Dispute

AU210853 Paris AFP in English 0003 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, Jan 20 (AFP)—Experts from the Soviet Union and China met here on Wednesday to discuss the border dispute which has opposed the two countries since they fell out in the early 1960's, Chinese sources said.

On Wednesday evening the Soviet news agency TASS had made no report on the meeting, and no further details were available on who was representing the two sides or on how long the talks would last.

Chinese sources said that the talks were likely to be "complicated" and that substantial progress was not expected.

Border talks between the two sides were suspended by Beijing in 1979 to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but resumed in February last year after an initiative by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

At a full round of talks in Beijing last August, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev said that the two sides had agreed on basic principles but that further talks would be needed on details.

Moscow and Beijing agreed then to form a working group of experts that would meet before full border talks.

Mr. Rogachev said on on January 12 that a working group of experts from both sides would meet from Wednesday to discuss differences over the eastern section of their common 7,500 kilometre (4,700 mile) border.

Cooperation Working Group Meets in Beijing

Yao Receives Sitaryan Delegation

PM201235 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Group Session"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Jan—The first session of the permanent working group on mutual ties and cooperation between the two countries' state planning committees, which comes under the auspices of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation, has been held in Beijing.

The sides discussed a broad range of issues concerning the practical realities of implementing economic reform in the USSR and the PRC and also the two countries' economic development as a whole.

The Soviet delegation—led by S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan—was received by Yao Yilin, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee, vice premier of the PRC State Council, and chairman of the PRC State Planning Commission. S.A. Sitaryan also had a conversation with Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council. The sides expressed an interest in broadening the exchange of experience in the sphere of economic reform. It was noted that trade and economic ties have been actively developed recently and that the potential to broaden these ties is enormous. The Soviet side spoke in favor of actively developing new forms of economic relations.

Delegation Home

PM201239 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] The delegation led by S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, has returned to Moscow from Beijing. The delegation has been taking part in the work of the first conference of the permanent working group under the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

During his stay in the PRC S.A. Sitaryan was received by Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council, who emphasized during the conversation that in recent years trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the PRC has developed and that our countries have great potential to expand and deepen this cooperation. According to him, despite their different conditions, the PRC and the USSR are resolving similar problems and, in the sphere of reform, could learn from each other's real, positive experience.

Zhao, Norway's Premier Discuss Foreign Policy

LD201500 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Beijing January 20 TASS—Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, said that the defence of peace all over the world and the development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation with all countries were the most typical features of China's foreign policy.

At a meeting with Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway, now on an official visit here, the leader of the Chinese Communist Party noted that following the 13th Party Congress all efforts should be focussed on the development of the country's productive forces. To this end, a general line was worked out for the whole of the initial stage of socialism, which meets the interests of the entire Chinese people.

The "RENMIN RIBAO" reports that during the meeting the sides exchanged views on problems of the international situation and the development of Chinese-Norwegian cooperation in trade, economy, science and technology.

Northeast Asia

More on DPRK's Denial of KAL Crash Involvement

LD191857 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1432 GMT 19 Jan 88

["DPRK Refutes Seoul's False Version—Press Conference at DPRK Embassy—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—"The DPRK has nothing to do with the incident of the South Korean passenger plane that crashed in November of last year. The Korean people resolutely denounce the Seoul authorities' attempts to place responsibility for the incident onto the DPRK," Chin Si-kun, DPRK charge d'affaires in the USSR, said at a press conference at the embassy in Moscow. He pointed out that the results of the so-called "investigation" of the incident published by the South Korean ruling circles were constructed—from start to finish—of lies, contradictions, and deceit. [passage omitted]

The fictional nature of the "investigation report" published by the Seoul authorities is further testified to by the fact that it does not contain any material evidence. The claim that the "criminals" alighted from the plane after leaving in the cabin a radio receiver with a delayed-action bomb and a bottle of explosive to blow up the airliner in the air is an invention lacking logic. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine that these things were left in the cabin for 9 hours while on board the airliner were more than 20 officials of the South Korean "security agency" and members of the crew.

The woman they are trying to claim originated from the North read with difficulty the text written by the investigators and pronounced several words that are used only by South Koreans and are not used at all in the northern part of the country.

At a press conference it was stressed that the current noisy provocative campaign against the DPRK accusing it of complicity in the destruction of the South Korean airliner, was mounted at a time when Pyongyang had put forward fresh peace initiatives, when the DPRK was trying to make the new year a crucial one in achieving national agreement, having made the proposal to convene a joint conference of the North and South, in order jointly to find a way to remove hostility and confrontation and toward relaxation of tension on the Korean Peninsula. These proposals have found a response among the broad masses in South Korea. Seoul would like to distract the public's attention by fabricating an unfounded accusation against the DPRK in connection with the South Korean airline disaster. The DPRK demands an immediate end to the slander and an apology for the irresponsible actions designed to undermine the international prestige of the republic.

Replying to journalists' questions, the DPRK charge d'affaires reported that South Korean political parties and public organizations were sent a letter with a proposal for a joint meeting to discuss the DPRK proposals. So far, however, no reply to the letter has been received. Meanwhile Seoul is trying to aggravate the situation by demanding the introduction of "international sanctions" against the DPRK, which can only provoke a resolute protest from all peace-loving forces.

Kamarin Comments on Takeshita's U.S. Visit

LD182154 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—TASS Commentator Andrey Kamarin writes:

Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has concluded his visit to the United States.

The prime minister has brought to the USA a report on Japan's readiness to make concessions by liberalising the market of farm produce, even though the Japanese side had recently been declaring quite justifiably that it could not take such a step as it would deal a strong blow at Japanese peasants. Besides that, Japan's "gifts" included the promise to give a wider access to U.S. companies to the construction of large public utilities in Japan, and, finally, the Japanese Government's decision to increase its contribution toward the upkeep of U.S. military bases on Japanese territory.

All this is largely explained by the wish of the Japanese leadership to dampen anti-Japanese attitudes in the USA caused by commercial contradictions between the two countries. Those attitudes have already led to U.S. measures to punish Japan in the area of trade. Facts show that this policy of the Japanese leaders has not led to the lessening of commercial contradictions with the USA. The claims and demands of the USA continue growing, while Japan becomes ever heavier involved in Washington's military-political strategy.

The militaristic aspect of Noboru Takeshita's visit to the USA cannot but cause concern. It is caused particularly by the fact that, going by press reports, the contents of that visit clearly oppose the fundamental positive tendencies consolidating in the international arena. Now that peoples of the world hope that positive changes which started as a result of the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty will develop further, the Japanese prime minister discussed in Washington measures for the intensification of the Japanese-American military partnership, for the development by the two countries of scientific and technological cooperation in the military branches which is actually aimed at the quest of the roads for the "compensation" for the U.S. intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles that are being eliminated. Attention was also given to other matters having marked military colouring.

The Soviet Union is far from the intention of driving "wedges" in the Japanese-American relations. Pursuing its policy of expanding ties with all states, including Japan and the USA, the Soviet Union, as it was declared more than once, is not building its relations with anyone at the expense of some third countries and deems it natural that all states are striving to have a ramified network of foreign political ties.

But it is impossible to overlook the fact that the development of Japanese-American military cooperation, whose share in the overall volume of bilateral relations is steadily growing, just as the intensification of Japan's own "defence" efforts under Washington's pressure, clearly have a destructive character and run counter to the aspirations of Asian and Pacific countries for the improvement of the situation and lowering tension in the area.

Timing of Japanese-U.S. Exercises Viewed

LD202239 Moscow Domestic service in Russian 1645 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Commentary by Boris Andrianov, from the "International Diary" program, presented by Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] [Agayants] As reported from Tokyo by KYODO news agency today at the Chitose military base on the island of Hokkaido, that is, right near our country's territory, Japanese-U.S. command staff exercises have started. They are being held under the code name "Mountain Cherry-13." The KYODO telegram stresses that the beginning of "Mountain Cherry-13" has been timed to coincide with the 28th anniversary of the signing of the Japanese-U.S. treaty on security and also with the talks that have today started between Kawara, director general of the Japanese Defense Agency and U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci. However, as one can gather, this is not just a matter of these events taking place at the same time. I am now asking my colleague, Commentator Boris Andrianov, to express his view on this matter.

[Andrianov] I will always be pleased, Nikolay Ivanovich. Reasons for the connection of these two events lie beyond the realm of purely temporal coincidence. They are to be found in the military policy of Washington and Tokyo and in their agreed and well-coordinated actions in this sphere. The essence of this joint policy has recently been fully demonstrated in the visit to the United States by Takeshita, the new Japanese Prime Minister. As a matter of fact, the head of the Japanese Government was engaged during his Washington visit in discussing specific measures for reinvigorating the Japanese-U.S. military partnership. As was noted in the statement of the Japanese Socialist Party at that time, Takeshita pledged to render comprehensive assistance to the U.S. militarist strategy. This conflicts with the positive tendencies that have now emerged in the world and disguises factors which threaten the Asian-South Pacific region with instability.

I have intentionally cited an extract from this document written by the Japanese Socialist party. The fact is that the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty has aroused a great response in Japan. Many influential politicians, mass antiwar organizations and wide public circles have assessed this agreement as an epoch-making event in postwar history. [passage omitted] In this connection representatives of opposition circles have called upon official Tokyo to introduce appropriate amendments to its foreign policy. The Japanese prime minister has expressed verbal support for the USSR-U.S. treaty, but to all appearances this support is purely formal.

Grounds for this conclusion can be found even in the statement of Kaware, director general of the Japanese Defense Agency. He has asserted that the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty has allegedly failed to change the military situation in Asia. This allegedly means that Japan must continue with its military program without reserve. In order to make this argument still more convincing the Japanese are now being made to fear the Russians' deviousness and are fed with inventions about the Soviet military presence increasing around Japan.

One gains the impression that the prospect of detente is not to the liking of those Japanese circles which bank in their politics on preserving tension in the world. This is why they are trying to belittle the importance of the Soviet-U.S. treaty for the improvement of the international climate and the curbing of the arms race.

Having raised propaganda noise around some sort of increasing Soviet threat, the Japanese ruling circles have ratified a draft of the state budget which envisages a more than 5% increase in military spending. On the same contrived pretext the Japanese military leadership appeals that the country should be even more involved in the U.S. military strategic machinery.

It is hardly necessary to cite proofs that the Soviet Union is far from the idea of wishing to undermine Tokyo-Washington relations. This does not mean however that one must keep quiet while observing the present development of Japanese-U.S. military cooperation becoming increasingly destructive in contrast with the aspirations of the Asian-South Pacific region's countries and their desire to reduce tension and to improve the atmosphere in this large area of our planet.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Yazov Greets Lao Counterpart on Army Jubilee

PM201635 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov message to Lao counterpart on Lao Army anniversary]

[Text] To Army General Comrade Khamtai Siphandon, LPDR defense minister.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and on my own account I congratulate you and all Lao servicemen on the 39th anniversary of the Lao People's Army.

We note with profound satisfaction that under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] the People's Army servicemen are persistently improving their combat skills and are constantly ready to defend the revolutionary gains of their people and the national independence of their motherland.

I wish the personnel of the Lao People's Army new successes in strengthening the country's defense capability and the implementation of the decisions of the 4th LPRP Congress.

May the friendship and combat solidarity between the peoples and armies of our countries strengthen!

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Further on Hun Sen, Sihanouk Meeting in Paris

LD202314 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Paris January 20 TASS—The second round of negotiations between Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk opened at the Paris suburb of Saint-Gerhain-En-Laye today.

The "closed door" meeting focusses attention on the quest for ways of political settlement of the situation in Kampuchea and around it. Also under discussion are the basic provisions of reconciliation with a view of restoring peace in Kampuchea, relaxing tension and building up security in the region.

Speaking on the results of the first day of the meeting, with conversations continuing over five hours, Hun Sen told journalists that he let Sihanouk know the basic principles and the dates for withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from the People's Republic of Kampuchea by agreement with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The sides agreed to continue consultations tomorrow.

The French mass media pay close attention to the negotiations. The Paris newspaper LE MONDE notes that on the whole favourable international atmosphere, obtaining after the Soviet-American summit meeting, enables efficient measures to be taken in order to find ways of settlement of regional conflicts.

Cultural Exchange With Philippines To Begin

PM201609 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cultural Exchange Program Signed"]

[Text] Manila, 19 Jan—A program of cultural exchange between the Soviet and Philippine Governments was signed here today. The program envisages the development of cultural ties and friendly relations between the Soviet and Philippine peoples.

The document was signed by Raul Manglapus, Philippine foreign minister, and O.M. Sokolov, Soviet ambassador to this country.

Answering a question from our TASS correspondent, R. Manglapus said that he wholeheartedly supports the development of bilateral cultural relations. People in the Philippines, he noted, still do not know enough about the Soviet Union's rich cultural heritage. Greater exchange in this sphere, the minister pointed out, will serve as a basis for further strengthening economic and political relations between our countries.

Indonesian Foreign Minister To Visit Early Feb

LD201522 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 20 Jan (TASS)—It has been reported here that Kusumaatmaja Mokhtar, Republic of Indonesia foreign minister, will pay an official visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Government in the first 10 days of February.

Near East & South Asia

Gerasimov: Israeli Visit No 'Closening of Ties'

TA201228 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov says the Soviet decision to allow an Israeli delegation to visit Moscow does not mark a closening of ties between the two countries. Gerasimov was speaking in an interview with Israel Radio. More from reporter David Ze'ev.

[Begin recording] [Ze'ev] The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said the Israeli delegation would be limited in its activities to checking the operations at the section of the Dutch Embassy which looks after Israeli interests. He spoke by phone from Moscow with reporter 'Oded Ben-'Ami. He said the decision to allow the Israelis to come to the Soviet Union did not represent a move towards establishing diplomatic relations.

[Gerasimov] No, as I said at my briefing yesterday, this has nothing to do with the establishing of diplomatic relations. Our standard answer to this question is that the restoration of diplomatic relations must come parallel with the settlement of [the] Middle East question, [the] Middle East crisis. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Gerasimov on Israeli Delegation, Relations

TA201223 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1105 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov says that Israel should decide on the date of its diplomatic delegation's visit to Moscow. The members of the delegation will be able to meet with everyone in the Soviet capital, Gerasimov says, even Arabs they will encounter on the city's streets. In a talk with our political correspondent 'Oded Ben-'Ami, Gerasimov addresses himself to events in the territories and to Yosef Begun's arrival in Israel last night.

[Begin recording] [Ben-'Ami] As is his wont lately, Gerasimov welcomes every conversation with us. On the goals of the Israeli diplomatic delegation's work in Moscow, he said this morning that it will examine the operation of the department that represents Israel in the Netherlands Embassy in Moscow.

[Gerasimov—in English] The purpose of the visit, as stated in the request from your Foreign Office, is to have a look at the section of the Netherlands Embassy here in Moscow which looks after the interests of your country here in Moscow. And what is this section doing? This section is busy with all these visas to Israel.

[Ben-'Ami—translates and continues] I asked Gerasimov if the Israeli diplomats will be able to meet Jews in the USSR?

[Gerasimov—in English] If they are going to be here, they will be walking in the streets; they can meet everybody, even Arabs.

[Ben-'Ami—translates and continues] I asked about the possibility of Israeli journalists, such as myself, coming to Moscow to cover the work of the delegation.

[Gerasimov—in English] Well, you just apply for visa. Lack of diplomatic relations does not prevent journalists from traveling. Of course it doesn't help, but it doesn't prevent it. You may try, certainly. You may certainly try.

[Ben-'Ami—translates and continues] I asked Gerasimov about the possibility of resuming diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and his answer is well-known:

[Gerasimov—in English] Just now in the Soviet Union we are very unhappy really. The majority of our population is unhappy with some of, with all those things you do to Palestinians and the violation of their human rights, you know, all this. You know that.

[Ben-'Ami—translates and continues] Gerasimov says that diplomatic relations can come only after settling the Middle East problem. So, for example, he said that most of the Soviet population is dissatisfied with the things that are being done to the Palestinians: the violation of human rights, police shooting at the Palestinians, and the deportation policy. I asked him about PLO terrorist activities: Why do the Soviets not condemn them as well?

[Gerasimov—in English] As to the activities of PLO, I cannot accept this. The problem is much deeper than you suggest it is, because this is the problem of the human rights of Palestinians, because they want their land back. Let this people go.

[Ben-'Ami—translates and continues] In conclusion, I mentioned Yosef Begun's arrival in Tel Aviv from Moscow last night.

[Gerasimov—in English] So, give to him a good welcome. [end recording]

Zverev Comments on Gulf, Palestinian Affairs

JN202139 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic
19 Jan 88 p 4

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador to Kuwait Ernest Sverev by Nasir al-Khadidi—date and place not given]

[Text] [Al-Khalidi] Iran has categorically rejected Resolution 598 and Moscow signaled the need to adopt measures aimed at implementing this resolution. Are you now convinced of the need to adopt a UN resolution punishing the party that rejects the resolution?

[Zverev] It is known that the Soviet Union has effectively and actively participated in the adoption of UN Resolution 598. We consider this resolution an important document for several reasons. The first is that adopting this resolution confirms the importance of a unanimous resolution. We believe this resolution contains important points which open up broad areas for the attainment of a peaceful settlement of the ongoing war. We also believe the resolution's powers have not yet been consumed. I would also like to indicate that the Soviet Union and Kuwait hold identical views vis-a-vis the resolution. We believe Iraq's agreement to implement the resolution and Iran's refusal will not continue forever because the persistence of the current situation will prompt the UN Security Council members to adopt a second resolution on the situation in the Gulf. Soviet UN Representative Belonogov has stated that he was instructed by the Soviet Government to participate in drafting such a resolution. The second resolution may include sanctions and embargo on arms shipments to the party that rejects Resolution 598. We will be ready to adopt a second resolution if all its points are accepted by both parties.

[Al-Khalidi] We believe a second resolution will give Iran an excuse to continue its aggression on the one hand and be appeased by you on the other, especially since Moscow has agreed to the first resolution, which was fair. Will the second resolution be a cover for the Security Council's failure to put pressure to bear on Iran?

[Zverev] Our principled stand is that Resolution 598 has not yet consumed all of its powers. The second resolution will be stronger than the first one as it will impose sanctions on the party that refuses to implement the first resolution. The Soviet Union takes into consideration this opinion and has more than once offered to take part in the formulation of the clauses of the second resolution. However, I personally have some reservations. Several times I have asked diplomats and Kuwaiti personalities if they think the two parties to the conflict will accept such a resolution and whether the war will stop as soon as it is adopted. The answer was no. We are fully aware that the adoption of a resolution will not be enough. The importance lies in the availability of other effective and practical means of implementing this resolution. Some Gulf and Arab circles accuse us of being afraid of imposing sanctions. In fact, we have been observing a real embargo throughout the past 7 and 1/2 years during which we have not sold any weapons to Iran. We are ready to implement a resolution imposing sanctions and an embargo, but what is more difficult in this respect is to make the U.S. and Israeli firms and some Western and Arab states stop providing Iran with weapons and force them to stop arms sales to Iran. I personally believe this will be a difficult task. I believe some laws should be introduced into these countries to ban private and government firms from selling arms to the two parties to the conflict or to the party that refuses to implement the resolution.

[Al-Khalidi] Signs indicate that the Soviet Union is using the continuation of the war to bolster its relations with Iran on one hand and to harm Western interests on the other.

[Sverev] We have vital interests and we make honest efforts. We are doing our utmost to end the war. We announced this position in the beginning of the war. During the war, we have also repeated to the Iraqis and to the Iranians the need to end the war through peaceful means. So, why these accusations and anti-Soviet positions? We want to establish peace in the region. I would like to refer to Soviet efforts regarding peaceful coexistence among nations. Any hotbed of tension resulting from the Iraq-Iran war will heat up the situation in the region and expand the war. We are concerned over the Western naval presence in the region and over the concentration of international military forces in the Gulf waters, because the U.S. fleet there is more than enough to protect oil tankers and free nevigation. We are also concerned over the presence of ships of the U.S. western allies in the Gulf region. We believe the presence of these fleets upsets the balance of power in the region and may lead to unexpected results. We have economic interests in halting the war. Before the eruption of the war, we used to maintain strong economic relations with both Iraq and Iran, and there were approximately 1,000 Soviet experts in Iran and Iraq. We had cooperation with both countries. As a result of the war, we withdrew our experts. This is a great loss for all of us. We are prepared to resume economic cooperation with Iran and Iraq if the war stops, and we can promote that cooperation in many areas.

[Al-Khalidi] There is another accusation. Moscow rejected the arms ban in the first resolution to prove its presence. Moscow wants to play a major role in this issue.

[Zverev] This allegation is baseless. There is no way to compare the U.S. military presence with the Soviet presence in the region. There are more than 30-40 U.S.

naval ships in addition to fighter planes. The U.S. allies have the same number of ships. Meanwhile, the Soviet ships number 5-6. Their mission is to protect the Kuwaiti oil loaded on Soviet tankers. Hence, we cannot be compared with the Americans and their allies.

We suggested the withdrawal of all foreign ships, including the Soviet ships, from the Gulf waters. Whenever the Western countries agree on this suggestion we will be ready to pull our ships out of the area. We also suggested the formation of an international fleet under the United Nations to achieve protection in the Gulf waters and to guarantee freedom of navigation in addition to other tasks. This suggestion gained the support of many countries out of the desire of everybody to withdraw all foreign fleets to avert future dangers.

[Al-Khalidi] When the war ends, do you think the foreign fleets in the Gulf will be withdrawn easily, or vice versa?

[Zverev] I cannot speak for the other foreign governments.

[Al-Khalidi] I am asking about the Soviet viewpoint.

[Zverev] Our stand is summed up in the following: After the war there will be no reason for foreign military presence. All fleets must be withdrawn then from the area. Information says that the United States affirmed that it will withdraw after the end of the war.

[Al-Khalidi] What would Moscow's stand be if Kuwait is subjected to an Iranian aggression?

[Zverev] It is hard to speculate in such cases. In responding to this question, however, I rely on Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's message to his highness the amir which was delivered by the Soviet deputy foreign minister during his visit to Kuwait last October. The message expresses the Soviet Government's support and backing for Kuwait's sovereignty. The Soviet Government's policy toward Kuwaiti follows this course. I would like here to refer to the development of cooperation between Moscow and Kuwait. This cooperation covered most spheres, including the military one.

[Al-Khalidi] What is going on inside Iran? Does Moscow have inforamtion about the internal disputes and fueds within the Iranian regime?

[Zverev] Actually, we obtain our information from news agency and press reports. Iranian society is closed. It is hard to predict or prejudge what goes on inside it.

[Al-Khalidi] Where are Soviet-Iranian relations heading?

[Zverev] We are now seeking to normalize our relations with Iran. We have a great deal in common with Iran. This is in addition to 2,500 km of joint borders. The history of Soviet-Iranian relations has witnessed various fluctuations and some old problems. I assert, however, that we are seeking to normalize our relations. This is being done by activating our political contacts on the level of the two foreign ministries. We are using this stand to affect the Iranian position and make it agree to end the war as soon as possible. We have taken some serious steps to normalize trade and economic relations. However, the volume of trade exchange is much lower than it was during the era of the shah. This is because of the war. Within this framework, I affirm that the end of the war will serve the interests of the Iranian and Iraqi peoples. We support all efforts to end the war through peaceful means. We are holding contacts with Iran to stop the war.

[Al-Khalidi] On the Middle East, do you believe the current uprising in the occupied Palestinian territory and the Arab conditions after the Amman summit will be an opportunity to begin serious peace efforts in the region? What is your attitude toward such efforts?

[Zverev] The USSR welcomed the Amman summit resolutions. During the Jordanian monarch's, King Husayn, visit to Moscow, officials voiced their satisfaction with the Amman summit resolutions. These officials believe the summit results have increased factors of Arab unity with the aim of finding just solutions for Middle East issues. We also believe the summit results were a very positive step. We support the Palestinian people's just cause and believe the uprising in the occupied territory is proof of Israel's failure to break the will of the Palestinian people and to foil their endeavors to establish an independent state and achieve self-determination. The Palestinian people have proved their strong will by confronting Israel's war machine armed only with stones. The USSR has condemned Israel's repressive measures, and we have repeatedly voiced our solidarity with the Palestinian people. I have attended the popular rally held by the PLO and heard Mr Yasir 'Arafat's speech. I sensed the extent of the Palestinian people's enthusiasm and their insistence on continuing their armed struggle against the Israelis. I think such rallies are a conclusive evidence of the restoration of the unity of the Palestinian resistance factions and the Palestinian people's cohesion with the PLO. We now feel that the PLO's power is increasing. In our opinion this is due to the resolutions at the recent PNC session in Algiers.

[Al-Khalidi] Does Moscow support a Palestinian government-in-exile at present?

[Zverev] As far as I know, the establishment of a Palestinian government-in-exile is being discussed by the leaders of the Palestinian factions.

[Al-Khalidi] What will be your opinion of this government if it is declared?

[Zverev] I believe this is up to the Palestinians themselves. The Palestinians and not we have the right to give their opinion on this question.

[Al-Khalidi] What sort of circumstances are you awaiting for a withdrawal from Afghanistan, given that this country might be transformed into a Soviet Vietnam?

[Zverev] We believe the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan is contingent upon an end to foreign interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. We believe all circumstances are now conducive to solving this issue. As you are aware, indirect talks are currently being held in Geneva with the representatives of the Afghan and Pakistani Governments. The signing of documents on this issue is expected in the middle of this year provided no new obstacles or snags come up. We are also interested in the Afghan national reconciliation and our forces will withdraw within 12 months when certain states stop interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. I would like to add that some states want to keep the Soviet forces in Afghanistan so these states could exercise pressure and exhaust the USSR.

[Al-Khalidi] You have provided Syria with MIG-29 fighter aircraft. Will the USSR supply other states with such planes if they ask for them?

[Zverev] I have no definite information on this issue. However, we have been supplying Syria with its needs for a long time because Syria is a confrontation state facing Israel. Our arms supplies to Syria will strengthen its offensive as well as defensive capabilities.

Middle East Conference 'Only Road to Peace'

LD202241 Moscow TASS in English 2226 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—TASS Commentator Grigoriy Vasiliyev writes:

Palestinians' uprising in the West Bank of Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, their courageous struggle against the Israeli punitive forces drew attention of broad international public to the need for undelayed solution to the Palestinian problem as an indispensable condition of fair and durable Middle East settlement.

Events in occupied territories showed that it is the Israeli Zionist rulers who bear the main responsibility for the preservation and heightening of tension in the Middle East. They strive for the annexation of lands of others, for territorial expansion at the expanse of Arab neighbours. And Tel Aviv openly blocks all reasonable approaches to the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, frustrates collective efforts aimed at quest of solutions acceptable to all sides involved in the conflict. Israel stubbornly continues relying on a bankrupt course of separate talks and back-stage deals patterned on the Camp David scenario also in conditions of the continued occupation of Arab lands.

The development in the Middle East show irrefutably that the convocation of a full-fledged international conference with the participation of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, is the only road to the establishment of peace in the area. This idea gained virtually universal support in the Arab world and was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the view that the conditions for an international forum on the Middle East are ripe and believes it can be held shortly, possibly as early as in 1988. Preparatory consultations in the framework of the United Nations Security Council could play an important role in this direction. Life shows that it is necessary to switch the matters of the settlement to a practical plane, to pass on to serious businesslike quest of the way to untie the Middle Eastern knot. This would be a serious contribution to the strengthening of universal peace and security, to the improvement of the international climate as a whole.

Belyakov Views Mubarak Tour of Arab States

PM201641 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Vladimir Belyakov "Comment": "The Near East: New Realities"]

[Excerpts] Cairo—Egyptian President H. Mubarak has been on a Near East tour. He visited Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and other states in the region. In Baghdad the Egyptian president also met with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat. [passage omitted]

Naturally, the Iran-Iraq war was the main topic of Mubarak's talks during his trip. During it he repeatedly stated that the security of the Arab states of the Persian Gulf and Egypt is "inseparable." The Egyptian president rejected an Arab press report that there are Egyptian warships in the waters of the Gulf and that in return for sending Egyptian forces to those states, the rich neighbors have promised to pay Egypt's military debt to the United States, which is nearly $5 billion. However, as many observers note, Egypt is prepared to give the Persian Gulf states military aid by sending advisers and supplying weapons.

The other very important item on the agenda was the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Arab summit conference in Amman, which was not attended by an Egyptian representative, came out in favor of the speediest convening of an international peace conference on the Near East under UN auspices, with all interested sides participating. Egypt adopts the same position. As Egyptian officials stated in connection with the president's trip, there was no disagreement among the talks participants on this matter.

It is an interesting fact, though, that Egypt's cooperation is almost exclusively with the so-called "moderate" Arab regimes that have close links with the West. In other

words, the process of restoring Egypt's positions in the Arab world is accompanied by a process of consolidation of conservative forces in the region.

President Mubarak's Near East tour is also of interest because it took place on the eve of his trip to Western Europe and the United States. To all appearances, Mubarak will be addressing the Western countries' leaders not only on his own account, but as a representative of the "moderate" states in the Arab world.

Demichev Receives Outgoing Libyan Envoy

LD210221 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Comrade Demichev received Shaban, secretary of the People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah People's Bureau in the USSR, at the latter's request, in connection with his final departure from the Soviet Union. A friendly conversation took place.

PDRY Delegation Discusses Oil, Fishery Projects

EA191901 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] At their meeting in Moscow yesterday Brother Dr Faraj ibn Ghanim, minister of planning, and Comrade Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich Kozlovskiy, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR minister of geology, discussed prospects for cooperation between the two friendly countries in the field of oil exploration in accordance with the agreements and protocols signed earlier.

At the meeting they also touched on the visit Brother Abu Bakr bin Husaynun, Central Committee member, Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and minister of energy and minerals, will pay to Moscow. During this visit an agreement is to be signed on fixing a new loan for oil field investment, extending pipelines, and also the importation of drills for the oil exploration project in Shabwah Governorate.

Present at the meeting was Brother Ahmad 'Abdallah 'Abd al-Ilah, Central Committee member and our country's ambassador to Moscow.

On the other hand, the brother minister of planning who is currently visiting Moscow heading our country's delegation to the meetings of the sixth session of the Joint Yemeni-Soviet Economic Committee, had a meeting yesterday with Comrade Nikolay Isaakovich Kotlyar, the Soviet minister of the fish industry.

During the meeting, they discussed the possibilities for cooperation in the field of fish industry in our country and the establishment of fishery projects for the fishery cooperatives in Hadramawt, as well as the carrying out of technical studies for a fish complex in [word indistinct] Suqutra and modernization of the fish canning factory in a-Mukalla.

Present at the meeting were Brother 'Abd- al-Wahhab Sharaf, deputy minister of fisheries, and a number of officials from the Ministry of Planning.

Afghan Official Stops Over in Moscow

LD210007 Moscow TASS in English 2344 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The policy of national reconciliation, being carried out by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan, enjoys broad support of the majority of the Afghans both in the country and beyond, said Habib Mangal, member of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, member of the Revolutionary Council of the Republic of Afghanistan, chairman of the Organization of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship. Habib Mangal made a stop over in Moscow on his way home from Cairo at the invitation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. In Cairo he attended the jubilee session of the AAPSO Presidium.

Even amid armed groups opposing the government we can now witness ever growing awareness of the aims of the national reconciliation policy and of the fact that it accords with the interests of the whole of the Afghan people, Habib Mangal said in an interview to TASS correspondent Sergey Zanin. Reports are coming in every week that that or other anti-governmental group has laid down arms. 4,000 Former members of such groups who gave up struggle against people's power were elected to various local administrative bodies. This fact alone testifies to the confidence and strength of people's power. The process of Afghan refugees returning home is actively under way. Their numbers could have been much bigger, were it not for obstacles raised by the authorities of Iran and Pakistan.

The Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly] which was a success in Kabul symbolises a success of the national reconciliation policy, said the Afghan leader. It was attended by representatives of practically all strata of the Afghan society: Workers, peasants, religious circles, ethnic minorities, supporters of the monarchial regime and others. This fact evinces the good will which marks the support for the national reconciliation policy which was unanimously expressed by the participants in the meeting. The present day composition of the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan turns down the fabrications that the leadership is dominated by members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Many ministers, for instance, are not party members, just as are two deputy prime ministers.

The national reconciliation policy has foes, said Habib Mangal. These are mainly those who regard its success as a damage to their privileges, and also the overseas masters of the dushman gangs. These people over the seas advocate in word termination of the conflict in Afghanistan, but in deed they intensively continue supplying arms to those who are against peace. But we are optimists. We believe that the current year of 1988 may become a year of establishing durable peace in Afghanistan. Our optimism stems from the conviction that there is no reasonable alternative to the national reconciliation policy, our constructive proposals which give a chance to make the current round of the Geneva negotiations on a political settlement around Afghanistan the final one. We have traversed our half of the way. Now everything depends on reply of the other side. Much in this direction can be done by the United States and its allies. Figuratively speaking they now hold in their hands the key from successful outcome of the Geneva negotiations. Will the current year become the year of peace in Afghanistan and when Soviet troops return home—this depends on the other side's reply to our initiatives.

Afghan Army Official on Military-Political Scene

PM191419 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik report: "Reconciliation Is Our Hope. Conversation with Major General Z. Zairmal, Chief of the Afghan Army Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] "On 15 January last year," Major General Zairmal said, "the Republic's armed forces unilaterally ceased fire throughout the territory of Afghanistan, in accordance with the policy of national reconciliation adopted at the extraordinary PDPA Central Committee plenum. During these January days our people are leading a complex, tense life full of both bright hopes and difficulties. Hopes are pinned, above all, on a crucial stage in the development of the April Revolution—the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation. The facts eloquently attest that it has met with the broad support of all sections of Afghan society, including those who, owing to various circumstances, find themselves abroad, and assumed an irreversible nature. The most important steps taken within the framework of national reconciliation include the adoption of the new Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, which is rightly called a Constitution of concord, and the election of Najibullah, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, as the country's president at the people's supreme council—the Loya Jirga. Other important measures on this path have been the adoption of the law on political parties and the introduction of a multiparty system in the country, the proposal to create a coalition government, the promulgation of the law on capital investments by foreign and local entrepreneurs, and the adoption of the law on compulsory military service and other laws.

"During this year, 705 bandit formations comprising more than 41,000 people have come over to the government side. More than 6,000 of these have joined local reconciliation commissions, and 400 people are working on local organs of power. Hundreds of dushman detachments have signed protocols on observance of the military truce or are holding talks on this. More than 10,000 prisoners have been released from jails in accordance with the amnesty law and are now working actively.

"Despite the obstacles erected by the Pakistani and Iranian authorities, more than 110,000 refugees have already returned to the motherland. The flow is growing daily. Property that used to belong to them is being returned to them all, and free assistance is being given, including assistance from the Soviet Union. It should particularly be emphasized that troops are coping successfully with one of the chief tasks set for the reconciliation period—giving material and medical assistance to the population. Organs set up under the Main Political Directorate and Army Corps have distributed hundreds of tonnes of wheat, sugar, and essentials, as well as thousands of sets of footwear and clothes. This humane work is continuing now in the country's hottest spots: Khowst, Qandahar, Jalalabad.

"These specific examples convincingly show that the military truce, which, as is known, has now been extended through 15 July 1988, has produced great results and that national reconciliation has become a reality in Afghanistan today. However, it is premature to speak of a fundamental turning point in the military-political situation in the country. It remains complex. Foreign interference remains the chief obstacle in the way of resolving the Afghan problem. It is widely known that in the last fiscal year alone, the U.S. Congress allocated more than $660 million to maintaining and arming anti-Afghan gangs. At the beginning of January this year, President Reagan personally sent the leaders of dushman formations a message containing assurances that the United States will continue and even expand military and political support for the dushmans. The latest arms, including U.S. Stinger antiaircraft missiles, reach the gangs in a continuous flow.

"The situation in the country is complex, particularly in the border regions. Individual bandit formations are still shelling cities, villages, and military garrisons and sabotaging roads. Last year, in all, they violated the terms of the military truce more than 4,220 times. On average, individual regions of the country were shelled 10-15 times a day. Under those conditions our armed forces were obliged, in full accordance with the paragraphs of the declaration 'On National Reconciliation in Afghanistan,' to conduct combat operations to eliminate bandit formations and destroy bases and convoys of weapons and ammunition. Combat operations were resumed in 65 regions of the country during the year.

"In cooperation with subunits of the Soviet limited contingent, the Afghan Army is even now continuing the combat operation to rout Jalaluddin's gangs in a region

of Khowst District and to escort convoys of goods and grain for the local population. According to preliminary estimates, dushman losses have totaled approximately 3,000 people. A large quantity of weapons and ammunition, particularly foreign-made missiles, has been captured and destroyed. I think the result of this and 39 other operations successfully conducted by the army will finally convince our opponents that they cannot achieve success by military means. Reconciliation is the only sensible way.

"I wish to take this opportunity," Maj Gen Zairmal said in conclusion, "to express sincere gratitude to the Soviet internationalist servicemen and all Soviet people for their fraternal, disinterested assistance and their active support for the process of national reconciliation in the country. We hope that the next round of Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva will be decisive on the path to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which will make it possible to withdraw the limited contingent of Soviet troops from our country over the course of 12 months."

Situation in Afghanistan's Khowst District Noted

LD211207 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Our correspondent in the Republic of Afghanistan, Aleksandr Shkirando, reports:

My trip to the Khowst District, situated about 35 km from the Pakistani border, coincided with the arrival there of yet another peace convoy which delivered foodstuffs and essential goods to the local population. Since the military and economic blockade was lifted, more than 21,000 tonnes of national economy cargo have been delivered to the inhabitants of Khowst.

Apart from that, the population has received, free of charge, disinterested aid, for the most part freight delivered across the Amu-Darya from our country.

What is the situation like in Khowst now? I put this question to Sa'adat Gol Ahangar, secretary of the PDPA District Committee:

[Begin Ahangar recording in vernacular fading to Russian translation] The situation is generally normal. Out of the district's ten subdistricts, the situation is temporarily not under the control of the people's authorities in only three. This is connected with the fact that they are situated in a mountainous area and had earlier been isolated from the rest of the district, due to the activities of counterrevolutionaries.

As for the purely military aspect of the situation, problems still remain here. They are connected, above all, with the fact that our common border with Pakistan is 162 km long, but, unfortunately, it is not a border of peace and friendship, as far as we are concerned. Extremist gangs from counterrevolutionaries' training centers, situated in three of Pakistan's border towns, namely Miram Shah, Parachinar, and Thal continue to be thrown into action on our territory. At night they try to mine the Erdet-Khowst road and to shell the district center from long-range mortars.

These attempts by our people's enemies are in vain. The Khowst operation has shown that national reconciliation is stronger than Stingers. [end recording]

Western Press Tour Khowst

LD202120 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 20 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption]

[Text] [Announcer] The Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan has organized a visit by a group of foreign journalists to the frontier district of Khowst.

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy] They were invited to Afghanistan in connection with the incessant provocative hue and cry being raised around this eastern district in the foreign mass media. They are distorting as much as they can the course of the military and political events which took place here recently and the situation today. They are continuing to claim, with astonishing stubbornness, that Khowst has been torn away from Afghanistan for ever, that heavy fighting is continuing there, and that the population is suffering horrifying disasters. All reports from here, including reports on the "Vremya" program, are declared to be mere propaganda tricks. [video shows journalists taking notes and photographs, including rear view of one person holding an "ABC News" camera; and general street scenes, including a well-stocked fruiterer's stall]

Well, our Western colleagues had extensive opportunities to acquaint themselves with the state of affairs and to talk to people such as (Dekhkanin Mirhadshah) [video focuses on a middleaged Afghan man talking into a microphone], who talked about how—after 9 years of the blockade, when people did not have even salt and matches—life here has changed sharply. He cited examples of when prices for the most essential goods fell in a few days to one 5th, one 7th and even one 10th of their previous levels. The stores, which previously stood empty, are now literally crammed with many goods which have been delivered here from the Soviet Union. Fertilizers, grain, clothing—all these are being distributed free both to townsfolk and to inhabitants of the most distant villages. [video shows bags piled high in a storehouse; people standing round a truck from which goods are being unloaded]

And yet, alongside the joy of the people with these unsophisticated but so essential things, bitter traces of the recent past are still fresh. American and British journalists saw with their own eyes the results of their

countries' so-called humanitarian aid to the dushmans. Four transport aircraft, in the wreckage of which 110 peaceful citizens perished, were shot down by Stinger and Blowpipe missiles near Khowst. Even now, attempts at placing Italian, British, Pakistani and Swedish explosive devices along the road on which hundreds of trucks travel to Khowst each day, are continuing. But Afghan and Soviet sappers are on the alert here. Almost 3,000 vehicles have already passed along the liberated route, and not a single one has been damaged. Peace convoys are proceeding to Khowst: This is the truth which can be heard and seen by everybody who wishes to do so. [video shows journalists gathered round wreckage of an aircraft, sappers checking land with metal detectors, piles of mines, trucks proceeding along a road] [end recording]

Aid to Afghan Rebels Predates Soviet Presence
LD152255 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2145 GMT 15 Jan 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Aleksandr Korshunov.

[Text] The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN has, in my view, printed a noteworthy article. It confirms that Western propaganda organs have virtually for many years been acting hypocritically and keeping quiet about facts which would show up the Afghan dushmans, the so-called Afghan resistance, in a less than attractive light. Only now is something beginning to appear in the pages of the press. The Western reader, for example, THE GUARDIAN writes, knew nothing about such an important circumstance as the fact that five of the seven leaders of the largest dushman groupings had left the country before the contingent of Soviet forces was brought in there. Thus, two remained in the country. One of them was in captivity for antigovernment activity and was subsequently freed by the Afghan authorities, and the second was conducting such activity in the east of the country—this, again, was happening before the appearance of the first Soviet soldiers on Afghan soil.

It turns out that the notorious foreign aid to the dushmans was also being provided long before the start of the direct participation of Soviet forces in the conflict. THE GUARDIAN enumerates several governments which were providing direct support to the dushmans in that period. The newspaper stresses that even then the U.S. CIA was already not only consulting these governments on matters relating to this, but also carrying out direct military supplies to the gangs and formations.

Amnesty Frees Over 400 in Balkh, Badakhshan
LD171203 Moscow TASS in English 0928 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 17 TASS—Over 400 men, earlier convicted for anti-state activity, have been set free in the Balkh and Badakhshan Provinces, in accordance with the amnesty decree, issued by the president of the Republic of Afghanistan. Over 12,000 people were released from prison over the past year.

One more gang which operated in the territory of the Wardag Province has been eliminated by Afghanistan's security forces. Guided by the ceasefire decree they demanded that the counter-revolutionaries should stop resistance, BAKHTAR reports. When the gang refused to do so, it was destroyed. Several extremists, including their leader, were killed. A big quantity of weapons was captured.

The members of an armed group which a few days ago came over to the government's side decided to form a self-defence unit in the Bagram District of the Paraneh Province. The commander of the unit, Shir Aqa, has said that in the district there are four more gangs, and therefore "we deem it our duty to protect the peasant peaceful labour from those who do not want to give up warfare against their own people".

Armed Gangs Surrender in Afghanistan
LD151420 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul, 15 Jan (TASS)—An assembly of representatives of the small Afghan ethnic group, the Pashaie, has taken place in Kabul. Its participants expressed support, on behalf of their fellow tribesmen, for the policy of national reconciliation.

Over half the goods delivered in recent days to Khowst have been distributed among the inhabitants of the region. At present 15 convoys have arrived from Gardeyz, carrying almost 20,000 tonnes of foodstuffs and industrial goods and building materials. In the period since the lifting of the blockade, almost 150 km of roads have been repaired in the region. Work is under way to restore the irrigation system, hospitals, and other public utilities.

In Samangan Province the gang of a certain Abdul Basir [name as received] has been eliminated and a large quantity of weapons has been seized. In another Afghan province—Parvan—an armed group headed by Shir Aka [name as received] has gone over to the side of people's power. In Herat Province 14 villages have been declared peace zones.

In a commentary devoted to the first anniversary of the unilateral cease-fire by the Afghan armed forces that has been distributed here, BAKHTAR points out that the overwhelming majority of the country's population has supported the policy of people's power directed toward national reconciliation.

Sappers' Mine-Clearing Work in Afghanistan

PM191233 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent V. Shcherban "Afghan Reportage": "Verified: Mines Detected"; the article is accompanied by two photographs, one showing a soldier with a sniffer dog, the other showing a soldier engaged in disarming mines]

[Text] Kabul-Qandahar—The photograph on the left shows Sergeant Sergey Grishchenko with his sniffer dog. They have dozens of "unearthed" mines to their credit. The picture was taken last fall. Today the sergeant along with other sappers and his faithful dog escort tank and automobile columns. Moreover they do not walk down the middle of the highway where it is safer but along the sides where every step may be their last.

It takes less than an hour to fly from Tashkent to Kabul in a "Tu": A short distance between war and peace today. At the headquarters there are guards wearing helmets and bulletproof vests. It is 0900 hours. The duty officer has just delivered his report.

"Killed... Wounded... Equipment blown up..."

And the reason is often the same—mines.

People are dying and equipment is being blown up not because the sappers have failed to look somewhere. There are too many mines in this country. And too many roads where soldiers go.

You can study geography from the markings on the mines unearthed. The Chinese "K-69" are especially insidious. If you touch the trip wire, the mine springs out of its casing and explodes into a thousand fragments at chest height. The "Italian"—a ribbed plastic "can" of yellow plastic—contains 6 kg of TNT. Sergeant S. Sadykov (in the photograph on the right) showed it. The "Italian" explodes with terrible force. An armored vehicle can be thrown off the highway like a little ball.

And the visible signs of mines? They can be seen everywhere.

The road to Qandahar. Our armored personnel carrier suddenly reduced speed: The asphalt in front was pitted. Approximately 20 meters away there was the burned-out shell of a truck. It turned out that the dushmans had laid a land mine under the road surface at night.

At the moment the night is their time.

An area near Kabul. Sappers detected a charge, but, obviously, one of them made an incorrect move... A memorial plaque has been erected on that spot. Hellish work—walking through combined multilayered minefields. To the right and left of the highway there are vineyards.

"You can't go there," the sappers said. "The 'soldiers of Islam' have mined them all."

There are many people in the Kabul hospital who have been blown up. Without eyes, without fingers... Commando Oleg Pusev was brought over to me. During combat he jumped out of an armored vehicle—straight onto a mine. He did not feel any pain. In the heat of the attack he ran several steps without feet. There are also sappers among the wounded. When I heard their stories I remembered the words of officer A. Shapovalov, commander of a company of sappers:

"Remember that these boys will never write home about their work. Obviously they do not want to upset their relatives. On days when sappers are blown up, it is especially difficult to send people out on a mission, but who would go if it were not for us?"

...The man and his dog walked slowly, examining and probing every centimeter—they were looking for the trip wire. Nothing distracted them. If the dog had come across a cat at that moment it would have paid no heed—that is training! The leash between man and dog is like a nerve. The dog "shaved" the ground with its nose. Sometimes it stopped, gave a shake of its head, and sneezed. Then it looked guiltily at its owner as if to say that its nose was clogged with dust. And, taking a deep breath it followed the mine "trail."

Whenever it scented explosives, it completely buried its nose in the ground, then glanced at Grishchenko: Had he noticed? The sergeant nodded. Then the dog sat down and began to watch its master go down on his knees and rake aside the dry stony earth with careful movements.

The sergeant determined by the yellow ribbed body that it was an "Italian." Shortly there also appeared the straps used for transporting the mine. But God help anyone who pulled them! The mine could be booby-trapped. This means that there is a grenade beneath it. If you pull you set off the grenade and the mine is detonated as a result.

When Grishchenko detected a wire beneath the underside of the mine, he commanded his dog:

"Take cover!"

He himself took a "cat" out of his knapsack—an anchor with a long cord attached to it—fastened it to the casing and went behind some rocks. He clasped the dog to him and gave a strong pull on the cord. A flash of fire. The roar of an explosion.

When the dust had settled and the tension subsided, the sapper winced painfully.

From under his fingernails, which he had torn during the digging, blood was oozing....

U.S. To Continue Military Aid to Pakistan

LD161735 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 16 TASS—President Reagan signed Friday a special document permitting the United States to go on with rendering military assistance to Pakistan. The document sent to congress on the same day enables the administration to by-pass the legally adopted provisions forbidding the U.S. to render military assistance to the countries developing nuclear weapons.

In the case of Pakistan the Reagan administration decided to turn a blind eye to numerous pieces of evidence showing that the Islamabad regime is fulfilling a program of the creation of its own nuclear weapons. According to a spokesman for the White House, the discontinuation of U.S. military assistance to Pakistan would run counter to U.S. strategic interests and would have a destabilizing effect on the situation in south asia.

BAKHTAR Criticizes Aid

LD181437 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 18 TASS—The Afghan news agency BAKHTAR has criticized the U.S. Administration's decision to lift restrictions on military-economic aid to Pakistan as a move posing a threat to peace in the region and the world as a whole.

It said in a comment that Islamabad will spent a large part of the U.S. handouts, which run into billions of dollars, on a program to develop nuclear weapons. Pakistani intentions in the field, the news agency added, are no longer a secret to anybody.

It said the reason why the U.S. has been treating its South Asian partner with special favor is obvious. U.S. aid, BAKHTAR explained, has been tying Pakistan to the United States more closely every year and making it follow the foreign policy of the White House.

The U.S. finds it advantageous to maintain tension in the region. This explains Islambad's policy hostile to neighboring peace-loving nations—India and Afghanistan, BAKHTAR said.

It stressed that the selfish and short-sighted plans of the United States contradict the signs of progress with improving the international climate and the desire of nations for general peace and security.

Afghanistan Spokesman on Talks with Pakistan

LD181201 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 18 TASS—The Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted in Geneva with the mediation of the personal envoy of U.N. secretary-general, have laid down, irrespective of all difficulties and hurdles, a serious foundation for a real settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan, told BAKHTAR news agency.

It has been arranged that Diego Cordovez, personal envoy of U.N. secretary-general, will visit Pakistan and Afghanistan beginning January 22. The exact date for the resumption of the talks will be agreed upon during his visit.

A good many changes took place inside Afghanistan and on the international scene during the period that has elapsed since the previous stage, the Foreign Ministry spokesman went on. The national reconciliation policy is being enacted successfully. The Loya Jirgah (Grand Assembly) held recently elected the president, endorsed the constitution and sealed the multi-party principle. Afghanistan stated about the possibility of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops over a period of less than a year.

The Afghan Government, mindful of the people's yearning for peace and stability in the region, will do everything depending on it for the upcoming stage to become a final one, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said. There are grounds for confidence that the necessary conditions for a successful completion of the talks have been created, he noted.

Fadeyev on Talks

LD191753 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0339 GMT 19 Jan 88

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Text] [Unidentified announcer] In a few days, Diego Cordovez, the UN secretary general's personal representative, will visit Pakistan and Afghanistan before the beginning of another round of Afghan-Pakistani talks, in which he will play a direct part, in Geneva in February. It would be no exaggeration to say that it would be hard to find people or forces in the world which would have no interest in the forthcoming round of talks. But the interests are not uniform, and are probably more clearly outlined than ever before. This has indubitably come about primarily because the Afghan and Soviet sides have already taken a step forward along the path to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. All the documents that need to be signed have more or less been agreed. The forthcoming round in Geneva may thus be the final one. Maybe, if... it is about this "if" that I have asked our commentator Vladimir Fadeyev to give his opinion.

[Fadeyev] Yes, the talks in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan through Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of the UN secretary general, may be the last ones. We would like to hope that they bear realistic prospects for establishing peace on Afghan soil. I think

millions of people will perceive the fact of the signing of documents in Geneva as a real, long-awaited festive day, as a victory of reason over evil, as a triumph for the new political thinking. Well, that is what may happen if other forces too—namely Washington and Islamabad and their allies—express their readiness, in documents and in practice, to go their half of the way.

Today, if I may be permitted to put it somewhat emotionally, in the literally days and hours that remain until Geneva, what is required of each of the forces and sides that have clashed in Afghanistan is just one decision, just one reply, and one which is urgent for the destiny of the whole people. I think that Republic of Afghanistan President Najibullah put it very precisely in his speech at the jubilee session of the supreme extraordinary commission for national reconciliation 3 days ago: When people want to build a firm bridge over a fast river quickly, they start building from both sides. Assessing the situation that has formed about Afghanistan on the eve of the another round of the Geneva talks, I cannot—much as I would like to—note that the opposite side is ready for or, most importantly, interested in cooperation in the name of peace throughout Afghanistan. This is because you can now hear many reservations from their side, irrational, not to say drastic demands and concessions required of the Afghan side, and, of course, of the Soviet side as well. Voices have suddenly begun to be heard in the West saying that they must try to extract the maximum advantage from the very fact that the Soviet troops are withdrawing from Afghanistan.

What advantages are they talking about? Well, first, the ultrarightwingers in the U.S. Administration reckon that everything possible must be done in order for the Soviet troop withdrawal to be surrounded by a sharp increase in military activity by the Mujahidin, so as in this way to compromise the prestige of the Soviet soldier. Second, they want to complicate the internal situation in the country as much as possible preceding the departure of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, to weaken the restructuring being carried out there and erect new obstacles on the path of national reconciliation and thus bring to naught the project aimed at creating a coalition and multiparty rule which has been launched.

Some might object to my words, saying that not everyone in the White House reasons in this way. No, not all. I would like to remind you, not for the first time, that the key to solving the Afghan problem is in Washington's hands. What degree of trust should we have in the words of current administration, which on the one hand gives assurances that it is ready to promote the end to bloodletting on Afghan soil, and on the other, is trying to stipulate the nature, size, and ethnic composition of the future Afghan government? During the time Eduard Amvrosyevich Shevardnadze was in Afghanistan and while he stated in his interview for BAKHTAR that we would like 1988 to be the last year there are Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Michael Armacost, the U.S. representative, who was in Pakistan at the same time, stated that the United States would not stop its support for the mujahidin, to which it gave aid worth $715 million [as heard] last year. However, I do not want to overshadow the upcoming Geneva talks with my gloomy forecasts. Common sense has always won out in the end over political blindness on our earth. But I cannot fail to return once again to the question: Are those who have for so long evaded this step on various pretexts prepared to lay their bricks in the foundations of peace in Afghanistan in deed, not just in words? Time will provide the answer; let us wait for February.

Loaned Nuclear Submarine Sails for India

OW210315 Tokyo KYODO in English 0150 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Tokyo, Jan. 21 KYODO—A Soviet nuclear-powered submarine believed to have been loaned to India has sailed down the Sea of Japan from Vladivostok in the Soviet Far East for India, Western military sources in Tokyo said Thursday.

The Soviet Union said early this month that a Soviet nuclear-powered submarine would be loaned to India for training purposes. The Soviets said it would carry no nuclear weapons.

The submarine is believed to be the first nuclear-powered vessel to be provided by the Soviet Union to another country. The Soviet Union also provided MIG-29 fighters to India last year.

The sources believe the vessel loaned to India is a "Charlie I" class cruise missile submarine with a displacement of about 5,000 tons, an "outdated" model built between 1967 and 1972.

With the loaned submarine, India has become the second country in Asia, following China, to possess a nuclear-powered submarine.

The sources also believe India wanted the Soviet nuclear-powered submarine to use as a basis for building a similar vessel.

U.S. 'Information Imperialism' in South Asia

LD171545 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] The expansion of so-called information imperialism has roused strong protest in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. And now a similar protest can be heard coming from the public in Sri Lanka.

On that island, the United States Information Agency is now building a powerful branch of the Voice of America radio station. And although this is explained in general by a natural desire to improve the audibility of this radio

station in South Asia, the suspicions and indignation of the Lankians around this issue are well founded. Moreover, this concerns not only the suspicions of the Lankians.

The matter boils down to the following: The Voice of America, and this is something that even the American press admits, is waging a real propaganda war against those developing countries whose governments pursue a domestic and foreign policy that is not to the liking of Washington. The populations of these countries are hit by a barrage of artfully juggled facts, obviously aimed at destabilizing their course of independence and sovereignty, at discrediting the noncapitalist way of development and cooperation with the world of socialism.

Actually speaking herein lies the main functions of the United States Information Agency which runs the Voice of America. Scores of the agency's publications, films, videocassettes aimed at fostering an intellectual atmosphere favorable for U.S. political and economic expansion are being disseminated in Asia, and in this offensive, the Voice of America occupies a special place since its subversive programs cannot be blocked by customs inspections, government bans, or measures taken by public organizations on the watch for diversions against national interests and traditions. And this is especially evident in places where the United States is waging its undeclared wars.

One might recall, for instance, how the VOA was used in those days when Washington wanted to punish Libya for its resolute anti-imperialist course. In the early hours of 15 April 1986, when American bombers were in the air to strike Libyan cities, the VOA in 15 programs aimed at generating more panic caused by the sudden night air attacks, to ferment disturbances and chaos in the country.

And the VOA is beaming outright hostile and subversive programs to Syria, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan. It is indicative that even after the Governments of Kampuchea and Afghanistan proclaimed (?the) national reconciliation policy in the countries and demonstrated their desire to achieve a political settlement by undertaking a number of concrete initiatives, the United States Information Agency, instead of folding up its subversive activities, stepping them up on an even greater scope. The VOA started new programs glorifying the violence and brigandage of the counterrevolutionary gangs on Afghan and Kampuchean soil.

Even these examples, and there are many more examples in Asia, seem to be quite enough in order to understand the Lankians who are protesting against the setting up of a VOA branch in their country. All the more so there is one more reason for all the alarm connected with the harm being done to the Asian peoples by information imperialism, and the reason is this: There is a real possibility of the Pentagon using the Lankian branch of the VOA for radio communications with the U.S. naval ships in the Indian Ocean, and even for targetting at military installations in space, being planned in accordance with Washington's Star Wars program. Therefore, information imperialism is not only an attempt to make people live according to someone elses rules and regulations, but it is also a threat to deprive them of the right to live.

Asian Conference Views Superpower Role in Area

LD181542 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] New Delhi January 18 TASS—The role of the Soviet Union and the United States in shaping up the situation in Asia and the Pacific highlighted the discussion at the international conference on cooperation in the drive for peace, security and development in the Asian and Pacific region, which is underway here. It is attended by representatives from nearly 30 countries.

The policy of the Soviet Union towards this vast region, formulated in the Vladivostok speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is based on the concept of comprehensive international security, said Dr. Devinder Kaushik, head of the centre of Soviet and East European studies of the Jawaharlal Nehru University. The Soviet Union is for a removal of the war threat in Asia and the Pacific, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in the area, lesser activities of naval forces, above all those armed with nuclear weapons, establishment of nuclear-free zones in various regions, reductions in armed forces and conventional arms, discussion of confidence measures and recognition of the principle of non-use of force in international relations, he pointed out.

The USA's policy towards the developing states is based on establishment of its military and economic dictatorship over them, said Professor Ch. Bhambhri of the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Washington fans up regional conflicts and undermines efforts of young states aimed at establishing regional cooperation, he noted.

East Europe

Petrovskiy, CSSR Counterpart Hold Consultations

PM201249 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Political Consultations"]

[Text] Prague, 19 Jan—Soviet-Czechoslovak political consultations involving V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and S. Murin, CSSR deputy foreign minister, have been held here. During the consultations the sides discussed the question of the two countries' collaboration in the United Nations and at other international forums.

Mironenko-led Komsomol Delegation in SFRY

PM201523 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 p 3

[Own correspondent V. Khlystun dispatch: "Youth News"]

[Text] Belgrade—A Komsomol delegation headed by V. Mironenko, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, is visiting Belgrade at the invitation of the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia Presidium. The program of the visit includes talks at the LCY Central Committee, the SFRY Federal Assembly, the Conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia Presidium and the League of Socialist Youth of Serbia, visits to enterprises and higher educational establishments, meetings with public organizations' representatives, students, and journalists, and the signing of a joint treaty on cooperation and ties between the Komsomol and the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia for 1988-1989.

Yesterday the Komsomol delegation was received by I. Racan, LCY Central Committee Presidium member. The great importance of all-around cooperation between the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia and the Komsomol for the development of friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries was emphasized at the meeting.

Meeting Marks USSR-GDR Amity Society Jubilee

PM201039 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Text] The immutability of the fraternal alliance between the GDR and the USSR and multifaceted fruitful cooperation in accelerating socioeconomic development are the main prerequisites for the further intensification of the comprehensive ties between the two countries. This is stated in a greetings message from E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR on the occasion of its 30th anniversary. It was read out at a ceremonial meeting in Moscow.

E. Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member and German-Soviet Friendship Society president, awarded representatives of Soviet public with the GDR Order of the "Great Star of the Peoples' Friendship."

A.E. Voss, USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities chairman and Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR Central Board chairman, said that at the present stage our countries' cooperation is assuming increasing importance.

G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, attended the meeting.

Delegation Heads Meet

PM200957 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 15 January M.S. Solomentsev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, received E. Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member, who is in the Soviet Union at the head of a GDR delegation in connection with the 30th anniversary of the Soviet Society for Friendship with the GDR.

I.S. Gustov, CPSU Central Committee member, and G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, participated in the warm, friendly talks.

Government Sends Condolences on GDR Train Crash

LD211024 Moscow TASS in English 1015 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—In connection with a railway accident in the German Democratic Republic the Soviet Government has expressed deep condolences to the GDR Government and the families, relatives and friends of those killed in the accident, as well as sincere sympathies to the people who have suffered as a result of the train crash.

Hungary's Unemployment Benefits, Problems Viewed

PM201231 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gerasimov under the general heading: "Fraternal Papers: View of a Problem"]

[Text] Budapest—The law on the payment of unemployment benefit has been operating in Hungary for a year now. What are the results so far? The newspaper NEPSZABADSAG examines this question.

When the elimination of losses to achieve efficiency involves the dismissal of more than 10 people, 6 months' notice is required. During that period the people who have been dismissed receive full pay and look for new work or are given new work. But if this process drags on, they have the right to unemployment benefits for another 6 months. Last year more than 300 people qualified, but only 49 of them applied for unemployment benefits.

But there are problems. The law does not apply to all categories of working people—members of cooperatives, for example. In this connection they are considering the possibility of extending unemployment benefit payments by another 6 months. The press also criticized the part of the law which says that it comes into effect only if 10 people are dismissed at one time. So this year there will be changes to this legal act.

Whereas last year support for dismissed personnel totaled approximately 10 million forints, this year it will be an estimated 130 million forints.

West Europe

More on Shevardnadze Official Visit to Spain

Holds Talks, Attends Dinner

PM211300 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks and Conversations in Madrid"]

[Excerpts] Madrid, 20 Jan—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has arrived in Spain for an official visit at the invitation of the Spanish Government. [passage omitted]

On 20 January E.A. Shevardnadze was received by Spanish Prime Minister F. Gonzalez.

E.A. Shevardnadze handed F. Gonzalez a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Key problems of the current international situation, as well as the main questions of the development of Soviet-Spanish relations, were examined in the spirit of open, constructive dialogue.

The exchange of opinions that took place confirmed that the Soviet and Spanish approaches to the fundamental problems of war and peace are in many respects similar and sometimes basically coincide. The sides are united in the view that the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington was undoubtedly a major event in world political life. Prospects have opened up for strengthening strategic stability, lowering the level of nuclear confrontation, and lessening the danger of the outbreak of conflicts.

The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has, it is no exaggeration to say, a historical significance which goes far beyond the bounds of Soviet-U.S. relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze stressed in this connection that the Soviet Union gives Spain due credit for having been among the first West European states to support the "double zero" for Europe, and then the "global double-zero."

In the opinion of both sides, a central place in the real disarmament process belongs to the problem of the radical reduction of strategic offensive arms in the conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty. The Spanish prime minister came out in support of efforts aimed at the signing of a treaty to this effect during the U.S. President's visit to the USSR in the first half of 1988.

E.A. Shevardnadze set forth the Soviet concept of possible further steps in the disarmament sphere.

We cannot allow, the Soviet minister stressed, a long gap in time between the two stages of nuclear disarmament: elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and a 50% reduction in strategic offensive arms, on the condition that the ABM Treaty be preserved in the form in which it was adopted in 1972.

This is of fundamental significance, since strategic offensive arms reduction must take place in conditions that exclude the possibility of a disruption of strategic stability. The ABM Treaty is the cornerstone, the guarantee of the preservation of that stability.

Following the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the problem of conventional arms reduction in Europe comes to the fore. Our approach to this question amounts to this: Let us go to the conference table, put all our cards on the table, and exchange information on the correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, not only in central Europe but throughout the European continent. We are sure this is an honest approach.

The Soviet Union has also put forward proposals on comparing military doctrines, with a view to transforming them into strictly defensive doctrines.

Paramount significance is attached to the conclusion of a convention on the total banning and destruction of all chemical weapons. Serious concern is caused by the fact that the pace of work on drafting the convention has slackened recently. This has happened, first and foremost, through the fault of the United States, which last month embarked on the production of binary weapons. This U.S. step indicates that Washington is not making a choice in favor of an accord on chemical disarmament.

F. Gonzalez stated that Spain supports the aims of nuclear disarmament, as was confirmed by its recent accession to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. The Spanish Government regards the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles as the start of a whole series of measures in the disarmament sphere, from the substantial reduction of arsenals of strategic nuclear weapons to the attainment of equilibrium in conventional systems at the lowest level, including the total destruction of chemical weapons. It calls firmly for the conclusion of a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50% reduction in strategic nuclear weapon systems and on defining conditions for the preservation of the ABM Treaty, which are acceptable to both countries and are not

detrimental to strategic stability. The head of government also stressed that Spain adheres to a clear, firm position in favor of the speediest complete destruction of chemical weapons on a global scale.

On the same day, talks began between E.A. Shevardnadze and Spanish Foreign Minister F. Fernandez-Ordonez. During the talks, the state of affairs in Europe was discussed from the point of view of the commencement in practice of the nuclear disarmament process.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted in this context that the Soviet Union put forward the idea of the "common European home," specifically in light of the new thinking. This idea means regarding Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals as a single entity, although it is a question of states belonging to different social systems and to opposing military-political groupings, as well as neutral and nonaligned states. The "common European home" incorporates the idea of the shared historical and cultural background of its peoples, the interdependence of the problems requiring urgent solution, and the need to create a comprehensive and lasting system of security and peaceful cooperation. A historic opportunity is opening up for Europe today—the opportunity at last to create a system of lasting, comprehensive security based not on mountains of armaments but on ways of establishing balance at minimum levels.

It was noted that the interests of universal security require the stepping up of collective efforts to unblock the conflict situations persisting in the world. The Soviet Union and Spain share the view that resolving regional conflicts must be sought exclusively by political means.

An example of constructive actions to unravel seemingly "Gordian" international knots is offered by the decisions of the conference of heads of five Central American states in Guatemala. It is important that the accords were reached by the efforts of the Latin American states themselves, on the basis of strict respect for sovereignty and noninterference and the right of each of them to define their own paths of development.

Expressing concern at the development of events in the Persian Gulf, the ministers agreed that the situation here must be defused, and the sooner the better. UN Security Council Resolution 598 remains a realistic basis for effective steps in the direction fo peace.

The sides came out in favor of the convocation of an international conference for a political settlement of the conflict situation in the Near East.

E.A. Shevardnadze briefed his partner on the situation over Afghanistan. He stressed that the return home of Soviet troops is a question that has been resolved in principle. The Soviet Union is doing, and will do, everything in its power to ensure that an Afghan settlement at last becomes a reality and that the political decision we have taken on the withdrawal of troops is put into practice. The USSR proceeds on the basis that the nature and composition of the future government of national reconciliation should be decided by the Afghans themselves. In any event, the USSR advocates the preservation of Afghanistan's status as a neutral, nonaligned state.

Examining the prospects for developing Soviet-Spanish relations, the participants in the talk stressed, in particular, that the USSR and Spain value highly and attach increasing significance to bilateral political dialogue and multifaceted, mutually advantageous cooperation, which, in their totality, have in recent years become an important factor for strengthening mutual understanding and trust in East-West relations. An opinion was expressed in favor of further strengthening Soviet-Spanish contacts at state level and political consultations, and of making maximum use of favorable opportunities, including those which are opening up in the course of the USSR's restructuring, for the successful development of bilateral ties in any sphere. Here such promising areas of cooperation as the peaceful utilization of outer space and the most advanced areas of science and technology were mentioned.

F. Fernandez-Ordonez noted that in Spain's opinion, the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe to the lowest possible levels would eliminate fears associated with nuclear disarmament and lead to a substantial strengthening of trust in relations among European states.

The two sides believe in this connection that it is time at the Vienna talks to come to an agreement on the mandate for future talks on reducing troops and conventional arms in Europe.

Here the Soviet side put forward specific considerations relating to the speediest settling of this question at the Vienna meeting. The ministers expressed the hope that the Vienna meeting will conclude with a substantial positive balance and with accords on all three Helsinki "baskets."

The ministers agreed to set up a special working party for detailed discussion of questions of bilateral Soviet-Spanish relations, the situation at the all-European meeting in Vienna, and certain problems of disarmament in relation to Europe.

E.A. Shevardnadze also met with F. Pons Irazazabal, president of the Congress of Deputies of the Cortes Generales. During the conversation, the main attention was devoted to the role of parliaments in the cause of strengthening trust and mutual understanding between peoples.

He noted that as a result of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington, a major shift is taking place in international life. The question now is how fully will the positive potential gained in Washington be utilized, and

will it be possible to consolidate the prospects that have opened up for lowering the level of nuclear confrontation and improving the international atmosphere. In this respect, much depends on parliaments, where the policy of each country and the public opinion of the peoples is formed to a significant extent.

F. Pons Irazazabal agreed that confident progress along the path of detente and disarmament, first and foremost in Europe, requires collective efforts and joint actions by the most diverse political forces, including parliaments and parliamentarians.

In the evening F. Fernandez-Ordonez gave a dinner in honor of E.A. Shevardnadze, at which there was an exchange of speeches.

Addressing the Soviet guest, the Spanish foreign minister expressed profound satisfaction in connection with his visit to Spain.

As you have probably already noticed during the course of the day, he said, your presence in Madrid has aroused unfeigned interest among Spaniards. Spain and the USSR have political and economic systems which differ considerably, but with every day that passes our relations are marked by less and less prejudice and more and more interest and willingness to get to know each other. I knew beforehand, and appreciated in the course of our talks, that you follow our country's life attentively. For my part, I think almost all Spaniards have recently learned at least two Russian words: "glasnost" and "perestroyka". You may be interested to know that, according to recent polls, the majority of Spaniards assess the meaning of these words positively.

I think that is because the Spanish people see restructuring as a policy oriented toward modernizing the Soviet Union's economy, improving Soviet citizens' living conditions, and widening their rights and freedoms. These are aspirations that all peoples share. At the same time, it is a responsibility that rests with any government, regardless of its political or economic system.

My talks with you have enabled me to assess the significance attached to the Soviet Union's present policy in this respect.

But there are also other aspects of that policy that attract universal interest.

In the last 2 and 1/2 years, your country has repeatedly and unequivocally displayed the will to reduce nuclear arms and demonstrated a remarkable capacity for reviewing old positions and criteria with a view to achieving concrete successes in this direction. This approach has not gone unanswered, and we can now welcome the conclusion of the U.S.-USSR treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear arms.

As you know, Mr Minister, Spain firmly and consistently supported the conclusion of this treaty, and the Spanish people welcomed it with joy and appreciated its historic significance.

This allows us to hope for establishment of a constructive atmosphere in international relations and the strengthening of the prospect of peace throughout the world. Spain is prepared to continue to contribute to putting this hope into practice.

It goes without saying, however, that peace and international security require more new, ever more important steps in the spirit of the Washington treaty, as well as the settling of the unresolved conflicts spilling blood on our planet.

Perhaps it would not be superfluous to recall here that these new steps require new efforts from all of us, sometimes thankless efforts, difficult concessions, and tough compromises. These demands will be made to a greater degree on whoever appears strongest or most influential in each case. It could be a question of conventional arms, or of space or chemical arms, or of the conflict in Afghanistan or in other regions of the world. These are the harsh but just criteria by which we will be judged.

The criterion whereby, faced with problems that concern us all, we all have the opportunity to make our contribution to resolving them also appears just to us.

As for Europe, we believe that the CSCE process has proved its suitability as a framework for further work in this direction. In our opinion, this CSCE line should be strengthened.

Experience shows us how to achieve this. In the sphere of confidence-building measures, we reached agreement on concrete proposals and took on the task of ensuring their implementation. Now we can say that this has produced positive results and that new steps could be taken along the same path. We also can and must reach agreement on new, concrete measures in the area of humanitarian cooperation and the defense of human rights, using in this sphere means to guarantee the application of those rights. The same approach could be applied to the subject of conventional disarmament, to economic cooperation, and to subjects in the area of information.

We are convinced that in this way we can dispel the fears and prejudices inherited from the cold war, which lead to confrontation, and thus open the way to reason, which calls on all of us to act in the interests of civilization's survival: That is precisely what M.S. Gorbachev recently called for, and in precisely those words.

In any event, Mr Minister, I would like to tell you that Spain looks to the future, that it is not in the grip of the specter of the cold war. All the same, our bilateral relations have fallen behind to some extent. Last year

saw the 10th anniversary of the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Spain and the Soviet Union, but our exchanges are still limited. However, we are fully determined to make up for lost time.

We are satisfied with the political paths we have laid during these years. The visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen of Spain to the Soviet Union in 1984, and also the visit by the prime minister in 1986, mapped out this path. Now we must strive to channel the whole broad stream of our cooperation in all areas along this path.

Tomorrow we will sign a long-term treaty on economic and industrial cooperation, which is to strengthen trade exchange and considerably increase quantitative indicators. These have already begun to increase considerably, and in 1987, they passed the $1 billion mark, whereas in the previous year, that sum totaled only $540 million.

As for the sphere of culture, tomorrow we will also sign a treaty for 1988 and 1989 which will allow us to extend cultural exchanges between our countries. In recent years, there have been many interesting events, among which we could single out the "Spanish culture month" in Moscow, including the exhibition "From Goya to Picasso" and performances by the Spanish National Ballet and the "Maria Herrero" Theater. This year we await with interest the holding of a festival of Russian and Soviet art, which will undoubtedly enrich the Spaniards' view of the Soviet Union.

In both these areas, as in the sphere of technical cooperation, we realize that we are still far from the desired goal. But we are on the path that will lead us to a level of exchange similar to that which the Soviet Union maintains with other countries that are our partners in the European community.

Lastly, I would like to mention here your beautiful motherland, a land of great rivers, spacious fields, and endless forests. Literature has often stressed the ancient similarities between our peoples, living at the extremes of Europe. They are two peoples who have suffered many different forms of violence and wars and who have a deep love of peace.

We are living through a very positive time for the strengthening of our relations. New sources of light have appeared on the world political stage and are illuminating the darkness of the past. The deep hum that always accompanies the great steps of history can be heard. Now there is more dialogue, more mutual understanding, and that means more hope. [passage omitted]

Addresses Dinner

LD210953 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2345 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Madrid, 21 Jun (TASS)—Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez gave a dinner Wednesday evening in honor of Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who is here on an official visit. Speeches were exchanged at the dinner.

Addressing the Soviet visitor, the Spanish foreign minister expressed profound satisfaction in connection with his visit to Spain. [passage omitted]

In his speech of reply, Eduard Shevardnadze said.

Spain has greeted us warmly and cordially, Mr Minister, through your words. Thank you, and thanks to the Spanish people, who have bestowed on us a feeling of spiritual closeness that instantly removed the distances separating us.

This phenomenon has historical roots and must be of service to the present. Knowing where Spain's foreign policy aspirations lie, I shall repeat here with particular satisfaction the words spoken by M.S. Gorbachev in his conversation with Felipe Gonzalez on 20 May 1986: "We will not be slow in jointly resolving, with other countries, the vital question posed by the nuclear-space age...."

We have in Spain a fortunate opportunity to attest to the prognostic accuracy of those words: We were not slow—history's first treaty abolishing a whole class of nuclear weapons has been signed.

Welcoming this act, which is in such accord with Spain's nonnuclear status and with its ideas about a nuclear-free world, the prime minister spoke, in a message to M.S. Gorbachev, about his wish to see in the treaty the start of a whole series of measures. They range from a considerable reduction in the arsenals of nuclear strategic weapons to the achievement of a balance in conventional means at the lowest level, including the total destruction of chemical weapons—with indispensable monitoring and verification [kontrolya i proverki] guarantees.

I shall also quote with great satisfaction that part of the statement by the Spanish Government where it asserts its position in favor of the conclusion between the United States and the USSR of an agreement reducing by 50% the systems of strategic nuclear weapons and defining a regime for preserving the ABM Treaty that is acceptable to both sides and does not upset the strategic stability.

We strive for nothing else, we care for nothing else, as much as for the attainment of the goals named above. I needed such extensive quotations so that the idea of our peoples' spiritual closeness proceeded naturally toward recognition of the closeness of our countries' political aspirations.

We do have something to consult about. For example, what will Europe be like after the elimination of the Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles? What will replace those now familiar symbols

of security? Other weapons? Such plans are now being actively promoted by certain people. But then that road has already been trodden. We have realized that it leads nowhere.

We are for a different road—that of further arms reductions in Europe and the strengthening of trust. It is necessary to seek the solution of problems together.

History has arranged matters in its own way, by locating our countries at opposite ends of the continent. But that same history also predetermined the active contacts between each of our countries and other peoples, doctrines and cultures. Life at the junction of worlds and the crossroads between great routes has been exacting and at times tragic for our peoples, but it has also imposed on us certain obligations with regard to our neighbors.

I am talking—as it is not difficult to guess—about the Near East and the Mediterranean. I am talking also about other regional conflicts: even though they are sometimes thousands of kilometers distant from our borders, they touch too strongly on our feelings. My two visits to Latin American filled my theoretical information about those countries' ties with Spain with vivid knowledge of the political, spiritual, and moral strength of these unbreakable bonds. Spain's concern about the state of affairs in, say, Central America is close and understandable to us. We are prepared to set up a channel of consultations on this matter, to strengthen our joint contribution to the process of a peaceful settlement in the region.

As far as the Near East and the Mediterranean are concerned, here, too, we see a similarity in approaches and closeness of positions.

We are for the summoning of an international conference on the Near East, which does not rule out various kinds of contact between all interested parties. The recent events on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip confirm again the full topicality and urgency of treatment for the Near Eastern wound by the combined forces of the world community.

We also support the solution of the problems of the Mediterranean exclusively by means of peaceful politics, with a clearly expressed renunciation of the exaggerated motifs of a wrongly understood security.

In solving these and other problems, we count on constructive cooperation with the Spanish side, especially bearing in mind the considerable authority Spain enjoys in the countries of the region.

Antonio Machado's [Spanish poet] advice to conduct politics with an open heart is close to our inner spiritual and ethical precepts. We do not intend to conceal anything from anybody. Nobody has the right to doubt that Afghanistan's pain is our pain, too. It reverberates in the hearts and souls of too many Soviet people for us not to feel it. Not choosing our inheritance, but accepting it, we are obliged to take decisions about how to manage it in the future, too.

A decision has been taken and announced: If the Geneva process ends in February, then the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan is a matter for the forthcoming months. We support the idea of creating a coalition government on the broadest basis in that country. But there must not be any doubt, either, that future Afghanistan must be independent, neutral, and nonaligned.

We are extremely frank with our Spanish partner. Our sincerity is not selective: It embraces the whole spectrum of our relations, not least trade and economic ties. However striking the comparison of Oblomov and Sancho Panza—the bearers of the idealistic dream—which was born in Spain, it belongs to history. The activity of the business-people of our two countries is already reaching a good level.

Tomorrow we shall sign two important documents on cooperation in the sphere of science, technology, and culture. This gladdens us all the more, since, as His Majesty King Juan Carlos noted during his visit to the Soviet Union, between Spain and our country "there exist a number of ties, principally in the area of cultural and spiritual life. Spain's Don Quixote has always been well known in Russia, possibly more than in any other European country; Gogol, Dostoyevskiy, Chekhov, and Tolstoy have exerted an important influence on contemporary Spanish literature."

All this is definitely true, which gives me the opportunity to conclude my speech with the words of Cervantes: "We are the children of our deeds".

We have come to Spain for the sake of good deeds, from which new generations of undertakings linking our countries should sprout.

In conclusion, Eduard Shevardnadze proposed the toast: To Spain and the Spanish people, to their friendship with Soviet Union and Soviet people.

More on Ordonez Visit

LD201729 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Madrid January 20 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, and Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez of Spain opened talks.

They agreed that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington was indisputably the event of the year in 1987. Its results have not only consolidated and expanded the positive potential forged in Geneva and Reykjavik, but have also taken international relations to a new high.

Eduard Shevardnadze stressed in this connection that the fact that Spain has been among the first West European nations to support the "double zero option" for Europe and then also the "global zero-zero option" is appreciated in the Soviet Union.

The two foreign ministers agreed also that at this juncture the most important thing is to make sure that the disarmament process should not lose the momentum and that it become continuous.

Eduard Shevardnadze set forth the Soviet concept for possible further disarmament steps which, in the opinion of the Soviet side, could be taken parallelly and supplement one another.

First. A wide time gap must not be allowed between two phases of nuclear disarmament, namely between the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms, which are now the priority task, on condition that the ABM Treaty will be preserved as signed in 1972.

Second. Following the abolition of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles the problem of reducing conventional arms in Europe will move into the foreground. The Soviet Union is prepared to ironing out the existing imbalances and asymmetries on both sides so that to come to mutually acceptable solution.[sentence as received]

Third. The Soviet Union attaches overriding significance to the signing of a convention on a complete prohibition and destruction of all chemical weapons.

It is a cause of serious concern that the pace of drafting work on the convention has lately slackened. This has been primarily the fault of the United States which began manufacturing binary weapons last month. The U.S. step indicates that it is not in favor of an accord on chemical disarmament that in Washington they are making their choice.

Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, for his part, emphasized that the Spanish Government is for the USSR and the United States to sign an agreement for halving their strategic nuclear weapons and for establishing a regime of preserving the ABM Treaty, which would be acceptable to both countries and would not disrupt strategic stability.

The Spanish foreign minister said also that his country holds a clear-cut and unwavering stand for an early and complete destruction of chemical weapons on a global scale and is prepared to make its contribution to fulfilling the task.

As the state of things in Europe was discussed from the standpoint of the practical start to nuclear disarmament. Eduard Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union has put forward the idea of a "common European home" precisely in the light of new thinking.

The idea presupposes the integrity of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, although the states which are involved either belong to different social systems and to opposite military-political groups or are neutral and non-aligned.

The two foreign ministers stressed the high significance to the future of the continent of a successful outcome of the Vienna followup meeting. They agreed that securing a positive outcome and making certain that the CSCE process will be elevated to a drastically higher level and filled with dynamic and profound contents in various fields depends on all the participants in the meeting.

The Soviet side voiced specific considerations as regards achieving early agreement at the Vienna meeting on a mandate for talks on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces.

The ministers agreed on the formation of a special working group for detailed discussions on the issues of bilateral Soviet-Spanish relations, the situation at the Vienna meeting, and some problems of disarmament in Europe.

The talks, which both sides believe went off to a successful start, will be continued.

Shevardnadze Visit To Spain New Impetus to Ties

LD151936 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 15 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—TASS Commentator Yevgeniy Mikhailov writes:

An official visit of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Spain in the second half of January will, undoubtedly, become an important event in the political life of Europe. The visit to Spain, alongside the trip to the FRG open the foreign policy calendar of the Soviet foreign minister in 1988. And this is not accidental, in view of Spain's growing importance in foreign affairs and its constructive line on many international problems.

Indeed, in the times of Francoism, that were not so long ago, Spain was a second-rate country by world standards that has been for long in a profound isolation in the world arena. Spain at present is a rather large country with a population of 40 million, with a high natural and economic potential. It rates fifth for the absolute volume of GNP in Western Europe and is on the advanced lines in a number of directions of science, technology and culture.

Spain's positions in the international arena have consolidated. The role of a meek partner of the USA does not suit Spain any longer. It is striving to ensure a greater independence, a greater freedom for foreign policy maneuvering.

While emphasizing its being part of the West, Spain at the same time is striving to develop ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, to take an active part in the widening of the East-West dialogue. This strengthens Spain's independence in international affairs, consolidates its positions in the world, brings it additional political and economic dividends. This also promotes the improvement of the overall situation in Europe, the development of peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation among neighbours in the European home.

Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Spain were restored comparatively recently, just eleven years ago. Then, in February 1977, hardly anyone expected that after a prolonged period of alienation, lasting nearly 40 years, the two countries will be able to establish promptly somewhat significant cooperation. The fact that there exists a favourable ground of traditional, historic feelings of mutual sympathies and respect which made it possible to build a durable foundation of bilateral foundation within a short period of time had not been taken into consideration.

The two countries succeeded in not just resuming political dialogue but bringing it to a higher level and enriching it with profound contents. The visits to the Soviet Union by King Juan Carlos the first, by Chairman of the Government Felipe Gonzalez, his meetings and conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev were important steps on this road. Quite a good pace was assumed by the interparliamentary exchange. The visit in 1987 of a Soviet parliamentary delegation headed by Aleksandr Yakovlev to Spain and the visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of the Cortes Generales of Spain headed by President of the Congress of Deputies Felix Pons were a success.

Real cooperation was established in the commercial and economic area, though things in this area are not quite smooth. The structure of trade turn-over remains narrow and outdated and its volume is relatively not large. The success in this area will largely depend on a degree in which both countries will be able to abandon the old stereotypes of thinking, how vigoriously they will be looking for new forms of cooperation. The establishment of cooperation on such directions as industrial cooperation and the creation of joint enterprises assumes special importance.

Alongside a political dialogue which actually promotes the advance in every area of bilateral ties, cultural exchange is a privileged area in Soviet-Spanish relations. The Soviet Union and Spain have things of interest for each other and there is a great interest of peoples of the two countries in such exchanges.

Contacts have been established between political parties and other public organizations, between municipal councils, universities, friendship societies.

In short, there are reasons for saying that Soviet-Spanish relations develop well. The Soviet Union is optimistic about further prospects of these relations. There are no disputed problems between the USSR and Spain that would hamper the development of ties in any area. There are no obstacles to effective inter-action in the international arena. The reason for this is a closeness of approaches to many international problems, mutual interest in the consolidation of peace and security.

There is every reason to expect that the coming visit of Eduard Shevardnadze to Spain will give a new political impetus to Soviet-Spanish relations, will bring them to a higher level.

Spanish Foreign Minister Interviewed

PM211231 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview in Madrid with Spanish Foreign Minister F. Fernandez-Ordonez by own correspondent V. Vernikov: "Setting an Example. Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez Answers IZVESTIYA's Questions"; date unspecified; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Madrid—V. Vernikov, IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in Madrid, asked Spain's foreign minister, F. Fernandez-Ordonez, to give his first interview to the Soviet press. A busy work schedule did not permit the minister to receive the correspondent for a personal conversation. However, he kindly agreed to provide written answers to questions sent to him in advance.

Question: Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Spain have been established for more than 10 years. How do you assess their current status as a whole, and what, in your opinion, are the prospects for them?

Answer: Our bilateral relations have lagged somewhat. Nonetheless, they are on the right path, and we have a great desire to make up for lost time.

The visits to the USSR by His Majesty the King of Spain in 1984 and the premier in 1986 defined the direction we would take. Now we are making an effort to develop initiatives to follow the channels already opened up.

We are satisfied with the state of political relations maintained by our countries in recent years. During the USSR foreign minister's trip to Madrid, we will sign a program for economic and industrial cooperation and several agreements in the cultural sphere. All this will promote the intensification of our exchanges in order to ensure that they will soon reach the levels that the USSR maintains with our other EEC partners.

Question: What, in your view, are the prospects for developing the all-European process, and what contribution is made to it by your country and Spanish-Soviet cooperation?

Answer: Spain is adhering more to the idea of a united Europe. This led us to join the EEC and to step up our activity with regard to European political cooperation. Our European policy is also developing within the framework of the CSCE. We believe the different EEC forums and the aforementioned CSCE are the areas where we can act most vigorously today to strengthen European ideas. Undoubtedly, however important multilateral actions may be, bilateral relations are no less important, and in this respect Spanish-Soviet relations are of great interest.

Question: What can Spain do in the general context of world politics to bring about a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, and to what extent does it participate in solving such major problems as disarmament and the strengthening of security, confidence, and cooperation between states?

Answer: Far more can be done to ensure the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts by those who have the greatest strength or influence in each of them. This applies, for example, to the Soviet Union in some cases and to the United States in others. This cannot be said of Spain.

Despite all this, and proceeding on the basis of our capabilities, Spain maintains and pursues a policy aimed predominantly at bringing about the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts besetting the world. We support the implementation of the Esquipulas (Guatemala) agreements for a resolution of the Central America crisis, and we support the holding of an international conference on the Near East as the only way of establishing peace in that area. We believe the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 is the best way to end the Iran-Iraq conflict and avoid a further internationalization of the conflict. Finally, Spain advocates the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

In the disarmament sphere, we try above all to set an example. Spain does not have and will not acquire its own nuclear weapons and will not permit foreign nuclear weapons on its territory. We also hold no chemical weapons and advocate their complete prohibition. Our defense spending is limited, and we believe that Europe should achieve greater stability in the sphere of conventional arms by reducing their present levels.

Relying on the moral and political strength afforded by these positions, we appeal to the international community and, in particular, to the great military powers to promote the ending of the arms race on earth and to prevent it spreading to space.

FRG's Kohl on East-West Ties, Perestroyka

LD141902 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn January 14 TASS—The Soviet leadership sincerely strives for the improvement of East-West relations for further agreements on disarmament. The West should use the chance. This was stated by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl at a meeting with foreign journalists here today.

The recent time has witnessed changes in East-West relations, which were unthinkable just five or six years ago. These changes, he believes, can be consolidated if, along with disarmament, mutually-beneficial cooperation in different areas developes between them. Such cooperation in science, culture and sports will help build up mutual confidence.

Touching upon the perestroyka processes which are under way in the USSR, Helmut Kohl said that the Soviet leadership was striving to make the Soviet system more efficient. This opens up new possibilities also for the development of the FRG's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. In the chancellor's opinion, the FRG's relations with other socialist countries have recently been positively developing. There are good chances for attaining an agreement on the EEC-CMEA cooperation, he believes.

Kohl Praises Talks Held With Shevardnadze

LD202034 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1749 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Bonn, 20 Jan (TASS)—At a session held here today, the FRG Government examined the results of the official visit to the FRG paid by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister.

As the official spokesman for the government stated at a news conference, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who spoke at the cabinet meeting, noted with satisfaction that his discussion with E.A. Shevardnadze took place in a very friendly atmosphere.

Helmut Kohl in particular emphasized the readiness of the government he heads to actively develop cooperation with the Soviet Union in many spheres. At issue in particular is economic, technological, and scientific cooperation; environmental protection; nuclear reactor safety; and cultural exchanges. He noted that in these spheres it is already possible to achieve concrete results right away. According to the Chancellor's assessment, the development of FRG-USSR cooperation may lead to the creation of mutual trust and thus to the improvement of East-West relations.

The chancellor informed his cabinet that at the talks with the USSR foreign minister he reaffirmed Bonn's interest in achieving progress in all aspects of the disarmament

process now, following the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The two sides were unanimous regarding the necessity to multiply efforts in order to achieve more accords in the cause of disarmament this year.

FRG's Strauss on Rust's 'Irresponsibility'

PM191841 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 10 Jan 88 p 5

[Interview with Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss by Andrey Gurkov: "Common Interests Are Better Than Talk About Friendship"]

[Text] He started his press conference in Moscow as follows: "Allow me to introduce myself. My name is Franz Josef Strauss. I've been the Prime Minister of Bavaria for the last nine years. For 29 years I've been a deputy to the German Bundestag and for 12 years—a federal minister—on atomic affairs, defence and finance. I'm a member of Bundesrat. I'm the chairman of the Christian Social Union, one of the parties belonging to the coalition now ruling in West Germany."

The speaker was obviously being overmodest—there was not a single person present who wouldn't know Franz Josef Strauss.

Let's continue the biographical data. Franz Josef Strauss, 72, a widower, has three children and is a Catholic. He was born in Munich. His father owned a butcher's shop and wanted his son to follow in his footsteps. However, the son revealed a leaning towards the humanities. In 1935 he graduated as a straight-A student from the secondary school, then studied classical philology at the University—Latin, Ancient Greek (he is fond of reading and quoting ancient authors to this day), Germanic studies, history and economics. In 1939-1945 Strauss fought in World War II (for about two years he fought against the USSR, and got both his feet frost-bitten), was decorated for combat. At the end of the war he was a senior lieutenant and a POW held by the US. In 1945 he took part in the organization of the CSU. In 1949 he became the party's general secretary and deputy to the Bundestag. Since 1952 he was vice-chairman, and since 1961—constant CSU chairman.

From the very outset, Franz Josef Strauss gained a firm toehold at the right flank of the political forces in West Germany. In the 50s he was intimidating Chancellor Adenauer, his patron, from the Bundestag rostrum with the danger of "getting behind barbed wire in Siberia" if Western Europe did not pool its military efforts. In the 60s he called the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons "a Versailles with cosmic consequences". In the 70s he criticized Brandt's "Eastern policy", and in the 80s he spoke at the meetings of revenge-seekers' fellowships. Such are some of the features for the portrait of the Bavarian leader. The people, who were subjected in the Soviet press to a resolute and tough criticism so constantly as Franz Josef Strauss, are probably few and far between.

Now, F.-J. Strauss has made his first visit to Moscow, on the invitation of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers. He had a more than two-hour-long talk with Mikhail Gorbachev, and met with Eduard Shevardnadze, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, A. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V. Kamentsev, vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission. Will this trip to Moscow allow us to add some new features to his portrait?

"After the proposals made by the general secretary, it is impossible to ascribe offensive military intentions to the Soviet side, or an intention to fight with the West. These fears, whether they were objectively justified or imagined, are today a thing of the past." "Faced with the destructive power of modern arms, war has stopped being a means of politics, it cannot be taken into account any more or be waged.... The feeling of self-preservation demands us to go towards the common goal and to protect common interests." "The last year and the latest months started changing the world. The 40-year-long postwar history has ended. A new chapter has been opened. And we are ready to put down on the first page of this new chapter the inscription in favour of cooperation and against confrontation."

These are also quotes from Franz Josef Strauss at the press conference in Moscow.

After this meeting with journalists, Franz Josef Strauss gave an exclusive interview to MN. After finishing talking to him, I came up to the people from the entourage of the Bavarian Prime Minister and asked the question, which is usually posed in such cases—when and how should the final text of the interview be submitted for your OK? The answer was: "Don't bother, we trust you."

MN: It is now nearly 43 years after the end of World War II. You took part in it and fought on the Eastern front. Throughout the postwar decades you were prominent in shaping West Germany's political course. But, you never visited the USSR. Now the visit has been paid. What are your most general impressions from it?

Franz Josef Strauss: My trip was a long prehistory. The Soviet side expressed a desire to invite me to the USSR a long time ago, but the invitation was not forthcoming. However, there's hardly any sense in speaking of the past. General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed us now in approximately the following words—welcome to the USSR, your visit and its programme is proof of a new policy and of a new style and this explains also our desire to hold a detailed exchange of opinions with you. And he

spoke of me in very well-wishing expressions. Gorbachev's words surprised me, but I was even more surprised at how much time he set aside for a truly broad-scale exchange of opinions, during which realities were clearly separated from illusions. Not only the invitation as such, but the content and atmosphere of the visit made quite a pleasant and favourable impression upon me. I'll make it a point to mention this at home.

MN: I think I won't be mistaken if I call you a convinced and consistent opponent of the communist world outlook. Still, you're actively facilitating the development of contacts between West Germany and the socialist states. The British newspaper, "THE GUARDIAN", even spoke the other day of your "special role" in this. What's your motive?

F.J.S.: I'm a dedicated adherent to Western democratic-legal ideology, or, if you like, philosophy. I never admired Marxism-Leninism, but that doesn't at all mean that people who adhere to this teaching—or this delusion—are my personal enemies. Quite to the contrary, my dialogue with the leaders of the GDR, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland has steadily been increasing over the last ten years. I prefer to speak of realities rather than of dogmas.

MN: Not only the Federal Government, but the oppositionary SPD as well, welcomed your trip to Moscow. Vogel, as chairman, declared that, in so doing, you would get the opportunity to reconsider, as he put it, the enemy image which you had cultivated for decades due to internal political considerations. What, in general, do you think about this concept—the enemy image? Has your concept of the USSR become altered in any way now?

F.J.S.: I do not connect Mikhail Gorbachev's personality with an enemy image.

MN: One of the main subjects in your Moscow talksk was USSR-West Germany economic cooperation. Particularly, with Bavaria. What are the prospects in this field?

F.J.S.: A Soviet economic delegation came to Munich in November. The return visit has been scheduled for the next few weeks. The Bavarian delegation will have people from well-known major firms and middle-scale enterprises. The talks will center mainly on electronics. If we wish to set up joint enterprises, then we should settle the question of training skilled workers and managers. Your country has been building up, for 70 years, a definite system which failed to foster in those heads completely responsible for their activities—because everything was assigned by the state. Maybe I'm wrong, but such is my opinion. Now Gorbachev has launched a most important reform—the independent responsibility of enterprises and their administrators is being introduced. It will be much more difficult for the managers who have been doing relatively easy work till now. They must be retrained. Granted the desire, we could do something in this direction by joint efforts.

You know, the interests common to both sides are always better than talks about friendship. And the vast Soviet market, with a solvent customer, is of great commercial interest to us. Trade would also serve peace and understanding between us. We don't want our economic relations to remain so one-sided-gas and oil comprise 85 per cent of our imports from the USSR. Our goal would be the establishment between the USSR and West Gemany of about the same turnover as we have with italy and France. However you'd only be able to sell in our country goods that are in demand.

MN: Problems of disarmament were another very important part of your talks in Moscow. We in the USSR are convinced that the treaty signed in Washington on the elimination of the INF missiles has brought alleviation to all nations, including the Germans in West Germany and the GDR. What do you think about this?

F.J.S.: West German security will not be strengthened at all, from the military-technological point of view, after the ratification of the treaty. The treaty covers a mere three per cent of all nuclear stockpiles. True, there will be some changes for some European countries and for the USA and the USSR.

The correlation now for small-range missiles is as follows: NATO has 88 lance-type missiles with a range of 120 km, and the Eastern side-1,360 systems with ranges from 25 to 450 km. Therefore, I eagerly agree with the idea which was voiced by Shevardnadze, the Soviet minister of foreign affairs, in a talk with me—it is necessary to capitalize on the upsurge caused by the first phase of disarmament and to march further on. If disarmament ends on the INF Treaty, it wouldn't cost very much. But if it has merely started disarmament— a banning of chemical weapons, a 50 per cent reduction of strategic arms in the next 5-7 years, and a reduction of conventional arms, with the establishment of parity of short-range nuclear missiles at the lowest possible level— then the Washington treaty will have a sensational (I nearly said a world-historical) significance. This agreement in itself cannot satisfy us. And all the rapture over it can be accepted only if disarmament is continued.

MN: Your're an amateur pilot with 20 years of flying to your credit. I heard that you also came to the USSR in a light plane which you piloted yourself. In Moscow you spoke for Mathias Rust, another West German amateur pilot who had illegally flown to our country. What was your motive for this?

F.J.S.: That's true, I piloted the plane the entire route from Munich to Moscow. The last lap was very complex. The visibility was practically nil and I had to fly by instruments.

As for Mr. Rust, I'm above all against the noise raised around him. The thirst for sensations on the part of certain mass media, the commercialization of what has happened, the scramble for the rights to the memoirs, and for movie and TV rights—all that has only tended to aggravate the situation. Rust's name must not flicker any more in the mass media. He is an indisciplined boy, a brazen fellow and his light-mindedness and irresponsibility could lead to a terrible misfortune. He was severely punished for this. I think, he could be pardoned before he serves all his time. Naturally, he'd be punished in our country, too. Just imagine—someone landing in Munich, in Ludwigstrasse! He's a flyer of genius, but also a prankster. And all the talk about his desire to speak above peace is just attempts at self-justification. It's simply a wonder that nothing unfortunate happened.

MN: Thank you for conversing with me. I wish you a good flight home.

Latin America & Caribbean

Central American Summit Sums Up Peace Efforts

Moyorov Commentary

PA181353 Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Commentary by Mikhail Moyorov]

[Text] The presidents of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica will meet tomorrow to analyze how for they have advanced toward reaching peace in the last 5 months. Unfortunately, the ultimate goal the presidents had in mind last year when they signed the well-known Guatemala agreements is yet to be attained. Peace has not been attained in Central America, and the fight continues in Nicaragua and El Salvador, even though the situation could have been different.

Many people surely believed, and continued to believe, that it is possible to stop so much bloodshed, but they could hardly believe that this can be easily and quickly achieved. Central America has been afflicted by many political and socioeconomic problems, and each of these many problems triggers an extension of the conflict.

Now then, the most important thing is that not all the parties involved are willing to achieve the much sought after peace. No one ignores the idea that the Esquipulas II agreement will surely fall without the United States' support. (?Even though) the White House issued encouraging statements concerning the peace-seeking efforts exerted by the Latin American countries, and there is apparently an agreement to temporarily suspend the U.S. aid to the contras, what about Colin Powell's Central American tour? He urged his interlocutors to publicly concern Nicaragua's attitude and offer their unconditional support to the contras. Far from bringing peace, those efforts have always led to war.

Is it appropriate to say that following the Esquipulas summit in August 1987, Central America has made no progress? I think not. In the 5 months since then, as a result of the efforts exerted by practically all the Latin American nations, there is a new political and moral climate in the area. For the first time eight Latin American countries comprising the Contadora and Support Groups and the states directly involved in the conflict have been trying to attain a solution to the crisis. Even though [words indistinct] all of them have a different opinion about the issue and have different criteria for it. That is why, regarding tomorrow's summit, I believe that optimistic predictions will prevail over [words indistinct] viewpoints.

Medvedenko Commentary

LD181741 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By TASS Commentator Anatoliy Medvedenko:

The principal result of the just-ended meeting of the presidents of five Central American nations in San Jose is their stressing once again the importance of the Guatemala accords on a peace settlement in the region as the only effective measure capable of stabilizing the situation there.

Proceeding from this premise, they have decided to begin immediately fulfilling the parts of those understandings that they were not able to realize before the summit.

The attendees noted also that Nicaragua has been conscientiously abiding by the accords and that in this respect it has gone much further than the other Central American nations.

It is perfectly clear that the implementation of the Esquipulas-2 agreement—and this has been stressed during the meeting—depends on Washington's attitude to a large degree. The United States has been not only hindering it, but also appluing quite an effort to scuttle the understandings. Earlier in January the countries of the region were visited by a working group of a commission monitoring the observance of the accords. It has prepared an objective report which has formed the basis of the document adopted at summit level.

But on the same very days Colin Powell, U.S. national security adviser, Elliot Abrams, U.S. assistant secretary for inter-American affairs, and Morris Bury, special envoy of the U.S. President in Central America, went literally in the group's footsteps to press the participants in the summit to toughen their stand on Nicaragua. The U.S. emissaries were especially zealous in that effort in Honduras.

At the same time the U.S. Administration has stepped up pressure on Congress in a bid to change the correlation of forces there in its favor ahead of debates on a new request for financial aid to contras whose actions are the main brake on the fulfilment of the Esquipulas-2 agreement.

Commenting on these facts, political observers draw the conclusion that Washington's policy in relation to Nicaragua has not changed. In the United States they are continuing to bank as before on force rather than a peace settlement. This is borne out by military maneuvers on the Honduran-Nicaraguan border.

One's attention is drawn to yet another aspect of the San Jose meeting. In the White House the Guatemala accords have been perceived as a serious indication that the Central American nations, which in the past were considered among the most loyal U.S. allies, are able to solve their problems independently, without Washington's participation.

For right-wing quarters in the United States frustrating the Esquipulas-2 accords means disuniting the countries of the region and preventing them from consolidating their independence.

But the outcome of the San Jose summit demonstrates that the trend for unity and regional integration is gaining in strength and it will be ever harder for the United States to check it.

Tuchnin Commentary

PM211129 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[R. Tuchnin "International Commentary": "Surmounting Obstacles"]

[Text] The presidents of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and El Salvador came to an agreement at their third meeting in San Jose that they must continue the quest for solutions that could ultimately lead to establishment of a stable peace in the region.

The step that has been taken inspires hope. Its importance is especially perceptible because, prior to the start of the talks in the Costa Rican capital, the opponents of a peaceful political settlement in Central America foretold their inevitable breakdown.

Especially zealous in this connection was the U.S. "big press," which well knew what its administration is aiming for—the diplomatic isolation of Nicaragua and the foiling of an accord in San Jose—in order to leave on the agenda Washington's former invariable alternative: the overthrow of the Sandinist Government using military force.

Within the framework of this permanent anti-Nicaraguan strategy, one tactical element has assumed particular importance: In the near future, U.S. Congress must review the government initiative apropos the $270 million appropriations to the weakening army of the Nicaraguan contras. The positive shifts in the course of the presidents' Costa Rica meeting could put a spoke in the Reagan administration's wheel.

In order to prevent such a turn of events C. Powell, the U.S. President's national security adviser, has been hastily dispatched to the region. As if to justify his military title (general), he did not mince words during his visits to Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, and El Salvador. The theme of his "recommendations" was the same everywhere: The four countries are not to continue to count on additional U.S. aid if they permit the contras to fail and, which is quite inadmissible, if by their desire to prolong the term of the Guatemala accords on the need to establish peace in Central America, they influence unfavorably the sentiments of U.S. legislators during the vote on aid to the anti-Sandinist counterrevolutionaries. Translated from diplomatic language, this meant that the Central American "foursome" in San Jose must jointly oppose Nicaragua and deadlock the talks.

Here, measures already taken by the Nicaraguan Government to execute the agreement signed in Guatemala 5 months ago have been totally hushed up or distorted. In an endeavor to promote the success of the San Jose meeting, Nicaragua has agreed to make further headway: Its government has decided to lift the state of emergency in the country and continue talks with contra leaders under the mediation of Cardinal Obando y Bravo and with the participation of Nicaraguan representatives, and to broaden the scope of the amnesty law.

Washington's unceremonious interference and overt pressure on its junior partners complicated in the extreme the talks between the five presidents. They lasted longer than planned and were marked by severe tension.

But nonetheless, common sense prevailed: Surmounting difficult obstacles, the Central American states resolved to continue along the difficult path to peace.

Haitian Presidential Elections Termed 'Farce'

LD181345 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 18 TASS—Presidential elections ended in Haiti today. That was an election farce staged by the ruling triumvirate headed by General Henri Namphy to install in the country a regime in the Duvalier spirit. The elections were marked with a very low turn-out of electors. According to news agencies, ballot forms were placed in urns only by 10 per cent of the Haitians with the right to vote. The rest 90 per cent preferred to stay at home for fear of new terrorist acts like those which took place on November 29, last year,

on the day of general elections which were thwarted by the Namphy regime. Scores of Haitians lost their lives and hundreds were injured then in a campaign of terror and repressions. The REUTER new agency recalls a Tontons Macoute gunman, a member of the former Duvalier secret police, to have sped to a polling station killed 30 people in cold blood.

Michael Hooper, a member of the "Americas Watch" human rights group said the elections were a forgery. He said that the same Haitians passed from one poling station to another, filing in ballot forms and placing them in urns. Representatives of the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the European Economic Community, the Organization of African Unity, invited by the regime, have not arrived in Port-au-Prince in protest against the farce.

The streets of the capital of Haiti and other cities of the country are being patrolled by reinforced army and police details. Tontons Macoutes are also participating in patrolling. Each polling station is cordoned by army units. All state and private shops, educational establishments are closed. Transport stands idle.

13 open supporters of Duvalier nominated their candidatures for the presidency in the course of the Sunday farce. All opposition leaders refused to run at the "elections".

Haiti CP's Theodore Comments on Elections

PM191107 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Kamorin telephone dispatch from Havana on interview with Rene Theodore, secretary general of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists: "Elections Without a Choice"; first three paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction; date not specified]

[Text] It is not only 6 weeks that separate two dates in Haiti's political calendar: 29 November last year and 17 January, this Sunday.

A gulf of disappointment, pain, and anger lies between them. Both events are related to general elections, but the first was awaited by Haitians in hope of being rid of the burdensome legacy of the 30-year domination by the Duvalier clan. As for the second, the very word "elections" needs to be placed in quotemarks. General Namphy's ruling junta, in alliance with the "Tontons Macoutes," wrecked the 29 November poll and foisted on the Haitians an "electoral process" devoid of even the minimum democratic guarantees. Under these conditions, the opposition forces had no other choice but to boycott the farce in the making.

Your correspondent spoke on the telephone with Rene Theodore, secretary general of the Unified Party of Haitian Communists, and asked him to assess the situation in the country.

"The situation is extremely tense," R. Theodore said. "In order to ensure the success of the election farce, the government has resorted to extensive repressions throughout the country. City streets are patrolled by the army. There are arrests, especially of young people. The regime's tactics are clear: If no one votes, the ballot boxes will be filled up with voting papers and the results of the 'elections' published. Namphy does not even intend to hide this. NEWSWEEK recently published an interview in which the head of the junta, in response to a correspondent's question about the possible number of Haitians who would take part in the elections, replied: 'Only the Army votes in Haiti.'

"The overwhelming majority of opposition forces, including our party, have urged their members to actively oppose the election show. Both the Catholic and Protestant Churches have decided to cancel Sunday Mass 17 January in order to allow their parishioners not to leave their homes: Otherwise, they could be dragged forcibly to the polls.

[Kamorin] Comrade Theodore, how do you assess the unexpected decision by the Provisional Electoral Council set up by Namphy to exclude from the ballot papers the names of 12 presidential candidates renowned for their connections with Duvalier tyranny?

[Theodore] We are talking about a political maneuver, which will give the elections some appearance of 'legality' but which will in fact change nothing. All Duvalierists standing for the posts of members of parliament and senators were successful in remaining on the lists although the Constitution bans them from holding any elective posts. Under these conditions, only a man who agrees in advance to rule with them, and in their interests, will be proclaimed president.

[Kamorin] Who could such a figure be?

[Theodore] This is essentially unimportant: None of the candidates enjoys even minimal popularity among the masses. They are a handful of political opportunists who can count on Namphy's favor but by no means that of the voters. Only two of them are even at all well-known in the country—Gerard Philippe Auguste and Leslie Manigat. Most Haitians will by and large be hearing the names of the others for the first time. This is all fully in keeping with the scenario elaborated for our country by the United States: a democratic facade in the shape of a powerless President behind whom is hidden the iron fist of the military, guarding U.S. interests. I am sure that however the present elections go, Washington will do everything possible to vindicate their results.

[Kamorin] What will the opposition's tactics be in the future?

[Theodore] We proceed on the basis that any government formed as a result of the elections of 17 January will be anticonstitutional, and we refuse to cooperate

with it. True, the situation in the ranks of the opposition is complex: We are only beginning the long process of unifying all organizations advocating further democratization in the country. As yet talks on joint actions have been deadlocked, but the logic of events must bring us to a reasonable compromise. This is the only condition giving hope for the triumph of democracy and justice for our people.

Interviewed by TASS

LD181525 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

On the call of a number of oppositional parties, including the United Party of Haitian Communists, mass organisations and the Catholic Church, the population of Haiti boycotted the so-called "general elections" held in this country last Sunday. Many polling stations practically did not function because nobody wanted to take part in the farce staged by the ruling three-man government in order to establish the Duvalier-type regime in the country.

The TASS correspondent speaking over the telephone (?reported) Rene Theodore, general secretary of the Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists, as saying that on the "polling" day all shopping centres were closed, transport ground to a halt and there were no Sunday masses at churches. Few people were seen on streets in the capital and other towns. Port-au-Prince and other towns are still patrolled by reinforced army units and police. Members of the former Duvalier security guard Tonton Macoutes openly take part in patrolling together with the regime's repressive forces. The polling stations are cordoned off by troops.

The fear of becoming a victim of the possible wave of terror was not the only reason behind the population's reluctance to turn up for elections. The mass boycott of the sham elections, Rene Theodore said, is the result of protests by Haitians against the regime's plans officially to restore orders which existed under Duvalier.

The leader of the Communist Party pointed out that practically only soldiers, army officers and police took part in the "voting". In some settlements soldiers used force to herd several hundred people to the polling stations. However, this will be enough for the regime to pronounce the results of the poll legitimate. There is information, Rene Theodore said, indicating that already before the so-called "counting", the leaders of the current regime prepared the list of winners. There are indications that Leslie Maniga, the ardent supporter of the Duvalier clan, is on the list as Haiti's legally elected president. He was minister in the government of Francois Duvalier and the close associate of the fugitive latest dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Commenting on the presence of 36 American naval vessels off Haiti, Rene Theodore stressed that Washington used the naval force to intimidate the population and prevent an outburst of popular protests under the threat of armed intervention. The American Administration seems barely concerned with the fact that the population gave wide berth to the "elections". However, the holding of an election farce, free of acts of violence, will enable the USA to declare it legal and officially resume military and economic aid to the reactionary regime of Haiti which remains the main exponent of the American policy in the country and on the international arena. No matter who becomes the president after the election show, Maniga or any other candidate, Rene Theodore stressed, the United States will be the only winner.

The country is in for an even sharper polarisation of the political forces. One can say with certainty that the future government will find itself in full isolation within the country. The people of Haiti and the political opposition, the leader of the Haitian Communists said, are not going to end the struggle for democracy and social progress, against the interference by American imperialism.

Cuba Not To Participate in Seoul Olympics

LD160946 Moscow TASS in English 0531 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Havana January 16 TASS—The Cuban Olympic Committee and the Cuban Government have decided against Cuba's participation in the Seoul Olympics.

This is said in a message sent by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of Cuba, to the President of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch.

The text of the message was issued here.

Cuba has from the outset favoured the co-hosting of the 1988 Olympics by South Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the message said.

However, it emphasised, the situation in South Korea continues to aggravate, and no one can give guarantees that popular protests during the Olympic Games will not grow, entailing more reprisals.

The message said Cuba was ready to reverse its decision if the holding of the Olympics in both Koreas in calm conditions was guaranteed.

Signing of Soviet-Nicaraguan Protocol Noted

PM181741 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] The Third Session of the Soviet-Nicaraguan Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation has ended in Managua. A Soviet delegation headed by A.I. Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, took part. On the results of the work of the session a protocol has been signed on cooperation between the USSR and Nicaragua for 1988-1990 which envisages the further development of mutually advantageous ties in various sectors of the economy and also the expansion of direct contacts between Soviet and Nicaraguan enterprises and organizations.

Speaking at the document's signing ceremony, Henry Ruiz, Nicaraguan minister for foreign cooperation, stressed the vital importance for the young Republic of multifaceted relations with the Soviet Union, which offers Nicaragua invaluable support in the complex conditions of U.S. military and economic aggression. Fraternal ties with the USSR considerably promote the country's economic progress and the strengthening of peace on the planet.

On behalf of the Nicaraguan people, the Sandinist National Liberation Front national leadership, and the Republic's Government H. Ruiz expressed tremendous gratitude to the USSR for the help in rehabilitating the national economy.

Nicaragua's Ortega To Lift State of Emergency

LD171154 Moscow TASS in English 0722 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] San Jose January 17 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has decided on Saturday to lift the state of emergency in the country, to open negotiations with contras leaders, to broaden the earlier-passed amnesty act, to hold municipal elections and also elections to the Central American parliament, provided a ceasefire. This was stated in the Costa Rican capital by President of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega upon completion of the meeting of the Central American presidents.

The negotiations with contras leaders, Ortega said at a press conference, will concern only questions of termination of armed actions waged by Somoza gangs with the U.S. support. In case of a ceasefire, contras might incorporate into a political dialogue which the Sandinist government is conducting with the internal opposition.

Daniel Ortega favourably assessed the results of the Costa Rican meeting as a result of which the Central American presidents agreed to immediately comply with the Guatemala accords. The Reagan administration should respect the will of the Central American presidents and stop supporting the contras, said Daniel Ortega.

'Direct Talks' With Contras To Begin 27 Jan

LD191323 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 19 TASS—President Daniel Ortega said Monday that the state of emergency is lifted in the Republic beginning January 19. It was imposed in 1982 in view of the aggression launched by the United States against Nicarauga.

The Nicaraguan leader stated during the meeting with Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, chairman of the National Reconciliation Commission, that this decision was made to put into effect as soon as possible the Guatemalan agreement on peace settlement in Central America. Ortega also said that members of the Nicaraguan delegation for direct talks on ceasefire with contras would be named shortly. The negotiations will take place in the capital of Costa Rica on January 27 and 28.

Nicaragua's Ramirez on U.S. Aid to Contras

LD191209 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 19 (TASS)—The possible decision by the USA to grant fresh military aid to the contras would be illegal, Nicaraguan Vice President Sergio Ramirez said in an interview with the NBC TV company.

Any support to the forces which try to oust the Nicaraguan Government would run counter to the spirit and letter of the agreements reached at the meetings of five Central American presidents in Guatemala and San Jose and can sink the entire process of peaceful settlement in Central America.

Ramirez refuted allegations spread by official representatives of the U.S. Administration that the new measures announced by Nicaragua to facilitate the implementation of the Guatemala accords were a propaganda subterfuge.

Military Circulates Communique in Argentina

LD172109 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Buenos Aires January 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Kolesnikov reports:

The General Staff of the Ground Forces has circulated a communique which emphasized the resolve of the military command to suppress at all costs, even by force if necessary, a revolt of a group of officers led by former Lieutenant Colonel Aldo Rico.

This rebel officer ran away from Buenos Aires to Corrientes province where he was supported by officers of the Fourth Infantry Regiment deployed in Monte Caceros.

Buenos Aires broadcasting stations point out in their programs that at about mid-day on Sunday Aldo Roco left the area of the deployment of the regiment, that now his supporters are occupying combat positions at the approaches to Monte Caceros where major forces of the 2nd Corps are being moved. The command of the corps and of some other units are fulfilling the order of the head of the General Staff of the ground forces to suppress the revolt of Rico's group.

CPSU Greets Ecuador CP's Mosquera on Birthday

PM201453 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings from CPSU Central Committee to General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador Central Committee on his 50th birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Rene Mauge Mosquera, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador Central Committee

Dear Comrade Rene Mauge Mosquera!

The CPSU Central Committee sends you, an eminent figure in the Ecuadoran Communist and worker movement, cordial congratulations on your 50th birthday.

You are known in the Soviet Union as a sincere friend of our country who has made a great contribution to developing fraternal ties between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Ecuador and to strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Ecuadoran peoples.

We wish you, dear Comrade Rene Mauge Mosquera, good health and success in your noble work for the independent, democratic development of Ecuador and for the good of peace and social progress.

CPSU Central Committee

Chilean FPMR Member Out of Country

PY160206 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2130 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] The Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front, FPMR, has revealed in Santiago that FPMR member Sergio Bushman has recently left Chile, and that he was given a new and valuable external assignment. The FPMR communique was published yesterday in the newspaper LA EPOCA. The communique says that Bushman's departure marks the successful end of a new stage of Operation Laura, which began with his escape from a Valparaiso prison with other FPMR combatants.

Political & Social

Dolgikh Addresses Railways Ministry Collegium

PM191449 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Railroad Transport at the New Stage of Restructuring"]

[Text] An expanded session of the USSR Ministry of Railways Collegium and the Presidium of the Union of Railroad Transport and Transport Construction Workers Central Committee took place 12-13 January with the participation of railroad and subway chiefs, the leaders of a number of enterprises and organizations in the sector, scientists, production pacesetters, and members of the party and production aktiv. A report was delivered by USSR Minister of Railways N.S. Konarev.

The collegium session examined questions relating to the transfer of railroad transport to full economic accountabilty and self-financing and the restructuring of the organizational structures of management. It critically analyzed the sector's activity in 1987 and determined ways of fully meeting the transportation needs of the national economy and the population by the universal introduction of new management methods and the deepening of the process of democratization.

It was stressed that leaders of all railroad transport subunits must strictly observe the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) when introducing the new economic mechanism.

Measures were drawn up to enhance the standard of railroad operation activity, speed up railcar turnaround times, ensure safe train travel, and improve the organization of passenger transport. Special attention was paid to ensuring the sector's social development, improving railroad workers's working and living conditions, and increasing their material prosperity.

The session was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The following took part in the work of the Ministry of Railways collegium and the Trade Union Central Committee Presidium: G.G. Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Pasternak, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Transport and Communications Department; L.A. Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the the RSFSR Council of Ministers; leaders of a number of USSR and RSFSR ministries and departments; and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers.

Solovyev Tours Metal Accessories Plant

PM200925 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "To Carry Out Reconstruction and Develop the Social Sphere More Vigorously"]

[Text] The program to modernize light industry in Leningrad and the oblast is aimed at the sharp reorientation of its labor collectives toward the needs and requirements of the customer and the fuller satisfaction of the population's requirements for high-quality goods. Increasing the standard of party leadership in this direction has enabled the sector to be pulled out of its decline within a relatively short period and its organized switch to the new conditions of economic management to be ensured.

The construction of installations and the comprehensive reconstruction and retooling of a number of enterprises are being conducted on a broad front. Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Obkom, visited one of them, the Leningrad Metal Accessories Production Association.

He was acquainted with the implementation of construction, installation, startup and tuning operations at the enterprise. It was noted that, fulfilling the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress, the party obkom did not in the past agree with the economic organs' decision to equip new association structures with equipment and production lines known to be obsolete. This delayed the handing over of the facility but did in return permit the provision of the latest equipment for manufacturing modern accessories, along with a significant increase in labor productivity. This approach which takes into account prospects for the development of the enterprise and sector as a whole is entirely justifying itself.

After giving their explanations N.N. Latyshev, general director of the association, and A.V. Kulkov, party committee secretary, noted that after completion of retooling the enterprise will be manufacturing goods at a level several times greater than that projected. This output will be distinguished by its broad range and high quality characteristics.

Assurances were given by the administration and representatives of the construction and installation organizations that the first stage of the association will be commissioned in May 1988.

Yu.F. Solovyev drew the attention of the enterprise leadership and party organization to excessive preoccupation with the economic aspect of things to the detriment of the solution of pressing social issues. It was stressed that during conversations with working people in the shops and sectors several claims were made concerning the unsatisfactory organization of catering and services for people at work, and a number of other

problems. Economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] relations have not been fully adjusted at the enterprise, and the collective has not been informed of the association's development prospects. There are unjustified difficulties in providing transport to get people to and from work.

M.I. Salayev, first secretary of Frunzenskiy CPSU Raykom, was instructed to take unremitting control of the resolution of the problems raised by the workers.

It was noted that the people of Leningrad have the right to expect from collectives in the sector which have worked for a year in the new conditions of economic management fine, high-quality goods which could successfully compete with the best foreign models.

A.S. Tumanov, D.N. Filippov, and V.Ya. Khodyrev, members of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom Bureau, and senior party, soviet, and economic officials took part in the discussion of the social and economic tasks facing the enterprise.

Buynkovskiy Views Redistribution of Workforce
LD201323 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the USSR "On Ensuring the Effective Employment of the Population, Upgrading the System of Job Placement and Heightening Social Guarantees for Working People" (published yesterday) is the first document in Soviet history aimed at tackling the workforce redistribution in a comprehensive way. This statement was made by Viktor Buynovskiy, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Issues. Until now, he said in a TASS interview, attempts have been made to solve the problem through separate, unrelated, measures.

The main aim of the workforce redistribution is to reduce by the year 2000 the share of people in industry from 52 per cent of the total workforce in the national eocnomy to 40-45 per cent and to increase those employed in the sphere of service from 27 per cent to 35 per cent. This branch is short of at least 13 million people.

This process will develop in the next century as well. "We regard as optimum the ratio when some 30 per cent of the able-bodied population is engaged in industry and nearly a half in services," Buynovskiy said.

But the process of redistribution of labour will also take place inside the industries and even inside separate enterprises. The laid-off workforce will make it possible to introduce second and third shifts, to get up services in charge of plant reconstruction and teams to repair flats of workmates. There are also plans to set up cooperatives at factories to manufacture consumer goods.

Commenting on the new resolution, Buynovskiy stressed that its essence was that it established social protection for those who would lose their jobs. The period between losing the old job and finding a new one, during which the length of service will be considered uninterrupted, will be extended. Those who decide to acquire a new trade will retain the average wage.

Other measures are envisaged which really guarantee the right to work fixed under the Soviet Constitution.

Hydrometeorology, Environment Committees Formed
PM191405 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has formed the Union-Republic USSR State Committee for Environmental Control.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has renamed the All-Union USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control the All-Union USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology.

Law on Individual Rights Takes Effect
LD201125 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—By TASS Commentator Boris Prokhorov:

People's courts, as trial courts are called in the Soviet Union, have begun examining the first civil suits filed in keeping with a law on the procedure of appeal against illegitimate actions by officials infringing upon citizens' rights.

The act, designed to increase protection for people against bureaucratic and administrative wrongdoing, went into force on January 1.

It is, without any exaggeration, a product of perestroyka. It is only in an atmosphere of Glasnost, or public openness, and extended democracy that such a law could have made an appearance.

It entitles a citizen to go to court to protest any actions by officials as a result of which he or she has been illegally deprived of a possibility to exercise his or her rights.

The new law has been born in diffucult labors.

First, even though based on article 58 of the Soviet Constitution which was adopted way back in 1977, it was worked out only ten years after. Obviously, the very

idea of such a bill was opposed by the heads of agencies that were keen to take their own decisions on complaints by subordinates rather than let courts make their rulings on them.

Second, when the bill was finally drafted, submitted to the summer session of the Supreme Soviet (national parliament) in 1987 and passed there, it proved imperfect, as though "truncated". The fact was pointed out both by some speakers at that session and in the press.

This is why the subsequent parliamentary session last fall made significant changes to the just-enacted law.

The development is note-worthy as it clearly is new to the work of the Supreme Soviet and attests to the fact that perestroyka has reached also such an important field of activity as law-making.

KGB Officials Punished for Fabricating Case

PM201341 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. Concerning Gross Violations of Socialist Legality by Certain Personnel of Law Enforcement Organs in Their Investigation of the Criminal Case Against Comrade A.V. Malyshev"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has examined the results of the check on a statement the committee received in October 1987 from Comrade A.V. Malyshev, former chief of the Odessa Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration Department for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation [OBKHSS], on his unjustified expulsion from the party, dismissal from internal affairs organs, and criminal proceedings against him on false evidence for abusing his position and taking bribes, as well as baseless claims of patronage and protection of him by officials of oblast and republican organs.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee decision on the matter notes that the charges against Comrade Malyshev are groundless. Certain personnel of law enforcement organs behaved in a prejudiced and arbitrary manner toward him and socialist legality was grossly violated.

Comrade Malyshev was dismissed from the internal affairs organs in October 1984 by Comrade Ye.Ye. Starovetskiy, chief of the Odessa Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, without sufficient grounds. His prejudiced, biased report on Comrade Malyshev was incorporated by Comrade A.A. Aslakhanov, senior inspector at the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Inspection Administration, in a memorandum to the ministry leadership. It claimed that bribery and violations of legality had become particularly widespread with Comrade Malyshev's arrival at the Odessa Internal Affairs Administration OBKHSS and that the latter had risen in rank thanks to patrons in high places. These claims were not subsequently borne out. The check also established that, as a result of a lack of supervision by Comrade Aslakhanov, certain members of his team, which was helping the Oblispolkom Interrnal Affairs Administration in its work, committed illegal actions involving a number of Odessa militia staffers.

The criminal case was brought against Comrade Malyshev in August 1985 on instructions from Odessa Oblast Prosecutor Comrade V.I. Zimarin on the basis of statements by three senior liquor store salesmen which were not properly checked. In violation of the requirements of procedural law, Comrade Zimarin ordered interrogation of the aforementioned persons without taking criminal proceedings. It was on his instructions that Odessa Prosecutor Comrade V.S. Arnautov approved the arrest of Comrade Malyshev. This was done without first carefully checking the statements by the trade workers, the circumstances of their giving evidence, and the interrogation of the actual person under investigation. Malyshev was kept in custody for around 2 years.

At Comrade Zimarin's request Comrade Yu.A. Bobovskiy, senior operations officer of the Ukrainian SSR KGB Directorate for Odessa Oblast, was assigned to assist the investigation into the case of Comrade Malyshev. With the connivance of Comrade Zimarin and taking advantage of the lack of supervision by Comrade A.G. Dovzhenko, chief of a department of the administration, he exceeded his authority, grossly violated the established procedure for the detention and handling of people under investigation, and sought to obtain from them false testimony against Comrade Malyshev and other militia staffers. The testimony was then put down by the investigators in the interrogation record.

Comrade N.V. Shashkin, deputy chief of the Georgian SSR Prosecutor's Office Investigation Administration, whom the USSR Prosecutor's Office had instructed to take charge of the preliminary investigation into the case of Comrade Malyshev, was negligent and irresponsible in carrying out his duties. He delegated the investigation to Comrade A.M. Belskiy, Odessa's senior assistant prosecutor, who carried it out in a superficial and biased manner, tending to accuse the person under investigation and committing numerous violations of legality. The badly investigated criminal case was signed by Comrade Shashkin, approved by Comrade Zimarin, and sent for trial.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Court Criminal Cases Collegium, examining the case o Comrade Malyshev at the request of the USSR Supreme Court, in view of the findings of the state prosecutor—Odessa Oblast Prosecutor's Office Department Chief Comrade G.P. Shulyachenko—sent the case back for further investigation because the investigation had been incomplete and biased. Comrade Zimarin disagreed with the decision, organized the persecution of Comrade Shulyachenko, and got him removed from his post.

In August 1987, after carrying out an additional investigation, the USSR Prosecutor's Office released Comrade Malyshev from detention and dropped the criminal case against him due to absence of evidence of a criminal act [otsutstviye sobytiya i sostava prestupleniya].

Serious violations of official duties, lack of objectivity, and prejudice in examining questions connected with Comrade Malyshev's case were perpetrated by Comrade G.M. Negoda, chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office administration for supervision of investigation and inquiry in internal affairs organs, and his deputy Comrade Yu.M. Baulin. Negoda also took measures to exclude workers of the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office from participation in the investigation into Comrade Malyshev's case and from monitoring its conduct.

The violations of socialist legality and other shortcomings in the activity of the Odessa Oblast law enforcement organs uncovered in the course of the investigation are largely due to serious omissions in the leadership of their work on the part of the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms. The party obkom did not examine in depth the work with law enforcement organs' cadres and did not show strict party exactingness toward their workers to ensure strict compliance with socialist legality. The party obkom workers, having at their disposal information from the law enforcement organs on the criminal proceedings against Comrade Malyshev and the statements about his innocence, failed to pay due attention to the Communist's fate. Letters to the party obkom about the incorrect actions and unseemly conduct of Comrade Zimarin were also not properly investigated.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee took note of the statements of Comrade A.P. Nochevkin, first secretary of Odessa Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, Comrade Yu.D. Zhurkin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, and Comrade O.V. Soroka, USSR deputy general prosecutor, to the effect that Comrade Malyshev has been reinstated in the party and reinstated in work in the internal affairs organs, that the criminal case against him has been dropped on a basis of rehabilitation [po reabilitiruyushim osnovaniyam], and that criminal proceedings have been instituted on the basis of the violations of socialist legality in carrying out the investigation.

For gross violations of socialist legality in connection with the criminal case against Comrade Malyshev and for improper conduct in the execution of official duties, CPSU members Comrade V.I. Zimarin, Odessa Oblast prosecutor, Comrade N.V. Shashkin, former deputy chief of the Georgian SSR Prosecutor's Office investigation administration, and Comrade Yu.A. Bobovskiy, senior superintendent of the Ukrainian SSR KGB Directorate for Odessa Oblast, are expelled from the party.

For serious shortcomings in work, violations of official duties, and lack of control in the examination of questions concerning Comrade Malyshev, the following CPSU members are severely reprimanded, with entries on their records: Comrade Ye.Ye. Starovetskiy, chief of Odessa Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration; Comrade A.G. Dovzhenko, former department chief at the Ukrainian SSR KGB Directorate for Odessa Oblast; Comrade A.A. Aslakhanov, former senior inspector at the USSR MVD Inspection Administration; and Comrade G.M. Negoda, former chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office administration for supervision of investigation and inquiry in internal affairs organs.

Comrade A.P. Nochevkin, first secretary of Odessa Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, is severely reprimanded for serious shortcomings in the leadership of the oblast's law enforcement organs, the selection of cadres, and their education in the spirit of strict compliance with socialist legality.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee instructed Odessa Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom and the party committees of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the USSR MVD to examine the question of the responsibility of other workers who committed violations of socialist legality and unscrupulousness in the execution of official duties in the course of investigation of the criminal case against Comrade Malyshev.

Journal Reports 'Grave Crime' in Uzbekistan

LD202337 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] The weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has carried a big article about crude violations of the law in Uzbekistan, Central Asia in the period when the republic's leadership was headed by Rashidov. The current policy of glasnost and democratization has helped uncover a grave crime. There was a secret underground prison in one of the districts of the (?Fargamal) valley where protesters were put. A local administrator, taking advantage of his personal contacts with Rashidov, usurped all power and meted out reprisals against those who tried to protest. It has also been established that he embezzled sizeable government funds. The national prosecutor's office is investigating the crimes.

Georgian Central Committee Plenum Reported

PM201003 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 88 First Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondents G. Lebanidze and I. Podsvirov under the rubric "Party Life: Reports of Elected Organs": "They Did Without Praise"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Dissatisfaction with what has been achieved... These words could probably be used to assess the nature of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum which discussed the bureau report on the work to lead restructuring. Dissatisfaction with what has been done was also felt in the honest, frank speeches by the Central Committee members and in the numerous notes and letters sent to the presidium.

The Central Committee report left no one indifferent, primarily because it was the result not of bureaucratic efforts but essentially of collective creativity.

"In the period of preparation for the report talk among us was quite sharp and impartial," D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, said at the plenum. "But there were no personal grievances or ambitions..."

Almost 2 months before the plenum the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee asked the republic's Communists and working people, through the press, television, and radio, to impart their ideas for improving the work of the Central Committee Bureau and plenums and on accelerating and deepening the restructuring process. Hundreds of proposals and comments came in reply.

The text of the report was published in advance in the republican newspapers. Conditions were thus created for the democratic discussion of an important document. The masses' living experience and the sociological research conducted in the collectives substantially influenced its content, tone, and orientation. The bureau members were caught in the "cross-fire"—between the working people responding to the request and the Central Committee members. The most valuable ideas and proposals from people were used to compile a special information bulletin distributed to all plenum participants.

In terms of frankness the speech delivered at the plenum by G. Metonidze, member of the Central Committee Bureau and team leader at the Tbilisi "Eletrovozostroitel" production association, in particular has much in common with many letters:

"It must be admitted that today I have felt particularly keenly profound dissatisfaction with my activity within the Central Committee. I am being rightly criticized. In actual fact I have failed to overcome the fixed notion that a Bureau member with no lofty post plays a secondary role and can keep quiet at sessions."

Guram Archilovich touched on a topical subject. Indeed, he is not alone in his unenviable role as an "onlooker." There are still many of these "token figures" in the elected organs.

It is also impossible not to agree with the following thesis from the report: Lack of resolve and inertia are making themselves felt in the work of some Bureau members. Often sharing the collective position in general, they avoid expressing their own opinion. For instance Central Committee Bureau candidate members B. Adleyba, G. Emiridze, and F. Sanakoyev, first secretaries of, respectively, the Abkhaz, Adzhar, and South Osetian party obkoms, frequently behave in this way.

The plenum participants focused attention on the personal qualities of the Bureau members and their personal responsibility for the matter in hand. The further democratization of party life depends largely on their ability to accept constructive criticism and proposals correctly and to use collective intelligence and experience, it was noted from the rostrum. Incidentally, the plenum began its work with meetings between Bureau members and groups of Central Committee members on the basis of the principle of professional interests.

This practice may perhaps seem ineffectual and therefore redundant. There's no denying that we also doubted its expediency. But, when we attended the meetings, we saw in them elements of innovation and the deepening of democracy in holding plenums. Judge for yourselves: The meetings and the subsequent talk at the plenary session made it possible in practice to draw nearly the entire Central Committee into the discussion of the report. It is obviously no accident that the new form met with the speakers' approval and support.

Those taking part in the discussion noted that collectivist principles and collegiality combined with the stepping up of the demands made by the party are being asserted in the activity of the Central Committee Bureau. Businesslike criticism and self-criticism are expanding and errors and blunders are being assessed in a more principled manner. Problems of overcoming the delaying mechanism and parasitical mentality are under the Bureau's constant attention and control. The plan targets for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan have been overfulfilled in the republic for a number of very important indicators. Positive advances have also appeared in the social sphere.

At the same time the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee plenum pointed out that the potential for party leadership of restructuring is so far a long way from being fully switched on. The Central Committee Bureau and its members have still not managed to achieve tangible changes on all sectors and the struggle against various negative phenomena—thriftlessness, waste, embezzlements, bribery, nepotism, exaggerated data, and violations of party discipline and ethics—is being waged inadequately.

The Bureau report stated that T. Lordkipanidze, candidate member of the Bureau and first secretary of the Kutaisi party gorkom, must move from delicate good intentions to the bold solution of economic and cadre questions. It was recommended to B. Nikolskiy, second secretary of the Central Committee Bureau, that he focus the efforts of the party group he heads on problems of the new economic mechanism.

A very great deal depends on specific leadership of sectors by Bureau members and responsible workers of the Georgian Council of Ministers—Council of Ministers Chairman O. Cherkeziya and his two first deputies, Z. Chkheidze and G. Mgeladze, who also heads the

republican Gosagroprom, and Gosplan Chairman O. Bardzelashvili. Acting through these leaders and the Central Committee sectorial secretaries, the bureau must ensure the optimum combination of economic and political methods of leading the sectors. The work of the Bureau and Central Committee Secretariat, it was stated from the rostrum, lacks proper consistency in the demarcation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs. Hence the duplication, haste and superficiality in analyzing the economy.

In the speakers' opinion, duties should be distributed more precisely between Bureau members N. Chitanava, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee in charge of questions of the agro-industrial complex, and Mgeladze, chairman of the Gosagroprom. Agreeing with the criticism leveled against him, G. Mgeladze stated frankly:

"The Gosagroprom apparatus is unwieldy and difficult to manage. Bureaucracy and the flood of paper are literally swamping not only our desks but also our consciousness. It is no joke that in the past year alone we have issued nearly 260,000 papers of various kinds."

The housing problem remains acute in the republic. With the extremely poor quality of installations, plans for commissioning housing, schools, hospitals, kindergartens, day care, and other establishments are regularly disrupted. The bureau deemed it necessary to improve the quality and accelerate the tempo of housing construction, especially in Tbilisi, where about 60,000 families are on the register. Unfortunately, the resolutions adopted on this score are being implemented unsatisfactorily and reluctantly. That is why the plenum recommended the revision of former assessment criteria for the work of leaders of the construction complex. The criteria must be more exacting and stricter. The plenum demanded that A. Glurdzhidze, Central Committee secretary in charge of the construction and municipal services department, overcome elements of "technocracy" in the sector's leadership.

Taking advantage of the free microphone, A. Datashvili, leader of a team of tunnelers at the "Tbiltonnelstroy," took the floor.

"Everyone knows of the housing difficulties," he said indignantly. "People wait their turn for years. And before their very eyes so-called private prestige blocks are growing up. Apartments in them are not for workers but for high-ranking officials, as though the law were not written for everyone. I think the Bureau and the Central Committee will be able to rap the knuckles of those who have forgotten their party conscience."

The Tbilisi party gorkom and its first secretary, V. Alavidze, bear direct responsibility for such facts and other errors and blunders. This was also mentioned at the recent gorkom plenum. A pernicious style of holding Bureau sessions has become entrenched here. These sessions frequently turn into an empty talking shop. Has the first secretary derived a lesson from the criticism? Judging by his speech at the plenum as a member of the Central Committee Bureau, he has still not realized the degree of his personal responsibility for the situation which has taken shape in the capital party organization. The speakers reminded him of that.

Other Bureau members—P. Gilashvili, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium; Central Committee Secretaries G. Anchabadze and G. Yenukidze; Bureau Candidate Members G. Gumbaridze, chief of the Central Committee Organizational Department, V. Siradze, chairman of the Georgian Council of Trade Unions, D. Margvelidze, first secretary of the republic Komsomol Central Committee, and others—were also subjected to thorough criticism.

A characteristic detail. When some speakers conceived the notion of restricting himself to banal reports about himself and singing the praises of the Bureau, on instructions from the plenum presidium the chair would "cool them down."

"That's not why we have assembled," he said. "The time of praise and eulgies has passed."

We would like to believe that it has passed irretrievably.

Pugo Addresses Latvian Aktiv Conference
PM201433 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Aktiv Conference"]

[Text] Riga, 15 Jan—The need to study people's interests in greater depth and take their opinion more fully into account in ideological work was mentioned at a conference of the Latvian party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol aktiv. It was held in the republic's capital today. Ways to improve international and patriotic education were discussed. A principled analysis was made of the trends in this sphere, and a number of substantial shortcomings were noted.

The conference was addressed by B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ukrainian Party Politburo Meeting Reported
AU191520 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] At a routine session, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has approved its accountability report on the work carried out in monitoring restructuring, which will be submitted to the forthcoming Central Committee plenum for examination.

A list of questions to be examined by the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat in the first half of the current year has been approved. In the list, prominence has been given to the progress made in implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums on deepening restructuring in all spheres of public life, on promoting the democratization processes, and on radical economic reform. In particular, it has been envisaged to sum up the 1987 results of enrollment to the party, to discuss tasks to boost the role of basic party organizations in monitoring restructuring, and in fostering discipline and order. Individual party committees are expected to report on the growing social and political activity of the Communists and working people, and on efforts to ensure that associations, enterprises, and organizations work under the conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing. Also a number of problems concerning party control over accelerating socioeconomic development, scientific-technological progress in machine construction, and the intensification of agricultural production are to be examined.

The plenum will scrutinize the efforts made by party committees to intensify the patriotic and internationalist education of the working people, to raise the level of scientific research and to tighten its link with practice, and to restructure the secondary and higher school. Also the work performed by law enforcement organs to enhance legality and intensify the struggle against crime is to be discussed.

It is planned to hold seminars for basic party organization secretaries in major national economic branches on problems concerning the renewal of party political work under the conditions of economic reform.

Some cadre questions have been examined.

Ukrainian Ministry Warned Over Shortcomings

LD201105 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 0330 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Excerpts] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium has heard a report from Comrade Bondar, minister of local industry of the republic, on the further development of this branch and on increasing the production of higher quality commodities.

It was noted that the ministry and the minister personally have not drawn the necessary conclusions from the government's demands for the further development of local industry and have not restructured the style and methods of their work in accordance with present-day conditions.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has issued a strict warning to Minister Bondar for failing to take appropriate measures for the further development of this branch and has instructed the ministry to eliminate the existing shortcomings.

Also under examination was the work in Chernigov Oblast with regard to overcoming drunkeness and alcoholism and to clamping down on home brewing. The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers has found the work of the Chernigov Oblispolkom to be unsatisfactory in fulfilling the decisions of the party and of the government in overcoming drunkeness and alcoholism and in clamping down on home brewing.

Ukrainian Government Apparatus Reorganized

PM191445 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent S. Tsikora article under the "In Republic Governments" rubric: "Reorganizing the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers Apparatus"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, which has been headed since last year by V. Masol, has embarked on this very responsible step without resorting to half-hearted decisions or cosmetic measures. Some departments of the Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs—the republic government's apparatus—have been completely eliminated, others merged, and a considerable number of highly skilled staffers have been made redundant.

It is a long time since there has been given such an object lesson in the Ukraine in how to act when the interests of the cause are paramount and demand decisive action. Some 10 departments in the Council of Ministers apparatus were immediately disbanded and almost 130 staffers axed.

Reorganization has affected the interests of many people and has not, of course, proceeded by any means painlessly. The leadership of the Administration of Affairs and the local party committee had to bear considerable nervous strain. But restructuring has been carried out on schedule. The government apparatus has been brought wholly into line with the increased role of the union republics and new economic management methods at a time when a considerable number of the functions of republic management organs are being transferred to the competence of associations and enterprises.

What, then, does the government apparatus look like after reorganization?

The creation of an autonomous department of capital construction and industrial construction materials is one of the principal innovations. Formerly this area of work was served by a subunit of the Administration of Affairs, now it comes under the republic Council of Ministers Presidium and the deputy chairman in charge of construction matters. What motivated this and what benefit will it bring?

For many years now capital construction has had a reputation for being a sector where disorder and failure were impossible to overcome. The switch to the new

management method added to the construction workers' troubles. If a drastic breakthrough were to be made it required the introduction of qualitatively new approaches in management and a change in the fixed organizational forms. It is proposed, in particular, to considerably intensify the accent on complexes and territorial structures in management by creating a harmonious vertical system of leadership bodies: The Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Construction, the administration of capital construction in the oblasts, and local construction subunits.

Senior officials of the capital construction department are assigned oblasts and are responsible for deciding questions of construction on the territory in question. This particularly concerns the development of the construction industry base, the construction materials industry, organization of the implementation of the plan for the commissioning of capacities and sociocultural facilities, and the utilization of allocated capital investments.

The basic subunit of the republic government apparatus—the Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs—has also undergone substantial restructuring. Four new departments have been set up there—an economic department, a legal department, a department for improving the management of the economy, the location of productive forces, and the protection of the environment, and a department concerned with consumer goods, trade, and paid services to the population.

There is probably no need to detail the new departments' duties. They derive from the very titles of the structural subunits and are in accord with the thrust of the basic transformations taking place in our life—the introduction of a new economic mechanism, the establishment of glasnost, and concern for environmental protection and the future of the fatherland.

I would highlight the special attention paid during the reorganization of the government apparatus in the Ukraine to such a vital issue for every employee as promotion. The Administration of Affairs has been instructed to create a reliable reserve of cadres to replenish and systematically renew the Council of Ministers apparatus. It is proposed to recruit into the reserve highly skilled workers of good standing from the oblasts, economic leaders, and leading specialists of associations and enterprises. They will receive periodic training in various jobs in the Council of Ministers apparatus. Such a present-day innovation as the competitive system of selecting and replacing leaders and specialists has not been disregarded either. Where expedient the competitive method will also be applied to the renewal of the government apparatus. The fact that all senior officials of the republic Council of Ministers will henceforth be provided with personal computers is indicative of the new demands made on it.

Orlik Views Criticism's Role in Restructuring

PM201201 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Yuriy Orlik, deputy editor of IZVESTIYA in charge of the Letters Department: "On Criticism Per Capita," under the rubric "Reading the Mail"]

[Text] "We used to take first place in the world for the amount of applause per capita of the population and now we are in the lead for criticism. The picture is obviously worse in terms of other indicators..." L. Veresov from Kaliningrad, who wrote these lines, has touched on an important subject. We will not argue with the author of the letter about the "other indicators," although statistics tell a different story. But when it comes down to it people are more convinced by what is available in the stores than by what the State Committee for Statistics says, and we have nothing in particular to boast of on that score. But we are here to talk about something else at the moment—criticism.

Until quite recently we could not get enough of it; we wrote, talked, persuaded ourselves and others that virtually all our problems and misfortunes stemmed from an infallibility complex and from our reluctance and inability to look the truth of life squarely in the face. Now, with less than 3 years between us and April 1985, which restored the concepts of democracy, glasnost, and honesty in politics to their rights, criticism has already become the object of criticism itself. To all appearances, L. Veresov has begun to be tired and irritated by the fact that criticism has not been immediately followed by long-awaited improvements. The same impatience distinguishes the letter from worker N. Kolesnik from Kharkov: "I would like to ask just how many years restructuring is expected to go on for? Fifty years, 100?" "Radio, press, and television have all been overwhelmed by the wave of criticism, but in actual fact there has never been any order and there is none now"—this is the opinion of M. Volfson from Nizhniy Tagil. "Criticism without results, without measures to restore justice, defeats the whole object of restructuring," T. Grigoryeva from Voronezh is convinced.

So, the effectiveness of criticism is not to people's liking. What has been said applies not only to newspaper publications and the work of editorial boards but to every aspect of our social life. "Just as it was once impossible to leave the rostrum without enumerating the virtues of those on the presidium (wise leadership, titanic efforts)," S. Levkoyev from Semipalatinsk remarks, "today it is mandatory to list the shortcomings and omissions of leading persons."

Criticism is becoming a ritual and a mere decorative element of restructuring—readers are drawing our attention to this danger.

Nevertheless, far greater alarm is being caused by attempts to do away with criticism altogether and revert to the more customary eulogizing. Of what? Restructuring as such, for a start. Our newspaper has discussed this tendency, particularly in the publicist's notes entitled "Norm of Criticism" (IZVESTIYA No 340, 1987). This small item prompted a massive response.

"It is unpleasant to have to read that there are some people (who are evidently quite high up) who are angrily and possibly even rudely telephoning the newspapers, radio, and television and demanding an end to criticism," writes R. Notov from the workers settlement of Sertolovo in Leningrad Oblast. "You can imagine how zealously they do the very same thing at grassroots level with people who are dependent on them." He goes on to say: "Surely these people who massacre criticism are responsible for reducing our economy to such a sorry state and have contributed to the decline in morality—and all this for the sake of hushing up the truth. Their present attempts to stifle criticism are designed to maintain the status quo, and primarily their carefree, comfortable existence at the expense of the people."

Readers are perfectly correct in their definition of why attempts to "put the press in its place" are so persistent. The mass media, for which the most favorable possible terms have been created by the party since April, have become a symbol in public opinion of the revival of a full-blooded political life after a long period of mere imitation. With no fear of being accused of self-glorification, I will quote a few readers' statements. V. Zhitkov from Kyzyl talks about the mass media as the "bell of glasnost." "Sources of information used to be full of eulogistic dross and lies," T. Petukhova from Alma-Ata remarks. "Now, however, we can read amazingly bold, frank articles. The newspapers have begun to arouse an interest in life." V. Semin from Gorkiy ("I have worked at the Gorkiy Automobile Plant for 37 years") writes: "I am finding the struggle in our country between new ideas and everything obsolete (bureaucracy, demagoguery, and so forth) very trying. But just remember, comrade journalists, that you are not alone in this battle against those who are still trying to reverse the course of our development. The workers are with you."

It is easy to detect a nostalgia for the old days in these attempts to blunt the political edge of the publicly spoken, printed word, despite the fact that this is concealed by protestations of acting in the interests of the state and the argument that destruction is not constructive and that there is a time to throw stones and a time to collect them.

"There are still a great many leaders in our country who would like the press to hail them," M. Gabdelnafikov from Sverdlovsk remarks. "Weaken criticism, and conservative forces will immediately launch an offensive against glasnost and democracy," believes G. Baryshev from Riga.

"We have still to get down to it in earnest, we are still only learning, but they are already trying to use democracy to frighten us," Ye. Devyatisilnyy from Istrinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast, writes in his detailed letter. "We are told over and over again that the electoral system is dangerous! They say that ill-suited, softhearted people will be elected instead of those who have strong principles! People will start settling scores! They are not mature enough! And so on. All this is nothing more than a throwback to the days of that old, chronic malaise—insulting mistrust of your own people, the lower orders."

This idea is developed by G. Kruglov from Sevastopol: "They cannot be unaware 'at the top' that matters are not progressing as smoothly 'down below' as restructuring intends. For example: People are not particularly enthusiastic about forming cooperatives, arranging contracts, or embarking on individual labor activity. All manner of obstacles are put in the path of these innovations at grassroots level out of the fear that people will get out of control. Losing power is feared most of all... And the animosity with which critics are victimized! It breaks your heart to see it." G. Kruglov continues: "Any cooling off of the press would definitely lead immediately to a cooling off of the restructuring process itself. No, criticism must be increased, without fearing that someone will again repeat that the newspapers are being very negative to the detriment of the restructuring process, for which, they say, an optimistic atmosphere must be created and so forth."

Restructuring is difficult and is being impeded. The braking mechanism does not consist of wheels and driving belts but of people and groups of people with all their interests and connections; not only the "bosses" who come under particular fire in readers' letters but also "ordinary mortals" who, passing themselves off as zealous advocates of restructuring, often uphold their own considerable privilege—to work in the old way, that is, badly or "on paper only," not earning but "receiving." True, there are not many such admissions in the mail. But there are some. "We do realize," R. Reshetnikov from Kiev writes, "that it is not so easy to immediately eliminate the shortage of food and commodities in our society, particularly if one considers that for many years they (the people) have been out of the habit of working and running things." "Yes, there are difficulties for which we too are to blame," P. Andriyenko from Piska in Zhitomir Oblast remarks. "I am aware of them: poor discipline; inferior performance; disorder; parasitic elements; deliberate and forced overreporting; ostentation; deception."

This is where I must point out that although the overwhelming majority of readers supports the newspaper's critical tone, letters also contain the realization that criticism alone is not enough. "It goes without saying that no one needs complimentary reviews of what is happening," A. Chugunov, an engineer and technologist at a specialized technological design bureau in Kiev,

remarks. "But there is not enough sober, objective analysis (as opposed to a gloomy list of facts) in the press." V. Shishvatov, deputy senior secretary on the KUZBASS editorial board (Kemerovo), considers the weak spot of many newspaper publications to be the "absence of a positive program and an answer to the question of what can be done to change the situation."

"When you read some of your articles," G. Boyko from Volgograd writes, "you get the impression that only those who are doing the criticizing are really fighting for restructuring. So how should we regard those who share their experience (good experience) with us through the newspaper and, casting off old, obsolete ideas, show initiative and enterprise and achieve results?..." "It is not a question of some people not liking criticism or being sick of criticism," G. Boyko continues. "The point is that newspapers print very few positive articles on the first results of restructuring in the oblast, the rayon, or the enterprise, or on ways to achieve the desired aims (and the mistakes made on this path), or about people with new ideas. Surely this would not be less democratic?..."

For the sake of objectivity I could point out that for the last year IZVESTIYA has published material under the rubric "Experience" and name a few articles focusing on those who, "casting off old, obsolete ideas, show initiative and enterprise and achieve results." But correspondence with the reader consists in an exchange of opinions rather than an exchange of recriminations. And we fully accept his observations.

When defining the role to be played by criticism in the press I would proceed from the sum of the above opinions, and from the realization that there is now too much at stake and that I and my peers will not have another such opportunity to change life.

"For me restructuring means to be or not to be," writes P. Andriyenko from Zhitomir Oblast (we have already quoted from his letter). "It is not just a question of conscience but a question of life itself."

I will sign off with these words.

Despite Progress, Komsomol Democracy Threatened

PM191615 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by Anatoliy Blyudin, senior scientific associate at the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center: "No Deviation," under the rubric "The Regular Daily Spot"]

[Text] Allow me to clearly define my basic position: I am one of those people who are satisfied with the decisions of the 20th Komsomol Congress. But to an even greater extent I am dissatisfied with what has happened in the Komsomol since the congress. This is why.

The congress decisions contain a series of specific propositions directed against recurrences of bureaucratic centralism which can and must revive an atmosphere of real democracy in the Komsomol. What has been done so far to put these words into practice? Not very much.

As is well known, the new regulations give the right to elect raykom and obkom secretaries from a number of candidates by secret ballot after a broad discussion among Komsomol members. But it is no secret that electoral practice remains unchanged in many places—that is, just one candidate, a show of hands, and all this under the watchful eye of the presidium.

In July, immediately after the congress, the first secretary of Ulyanovsk's Leninskiy Raykom admitted to me that apparatchiks had spent the whole month preparing a worthy reception for the Central Committee commission sent to check out the records situation. As in the days of old, the raykom had once again been turned into an "investigations bureau to seek out the unseated and the unregistered."

Of course, even hundreds of separate examples do not give an objective picture. But here are some figures from a sociological survey conducted by members of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center in 10 regions of the country. More than 20% of the respondents were not convinced that the congress decisions would lead to radical changes in the Komsomol. What are the reasons for this lack of faith? I will give you just one: There have been few real changes as yet...

Fortunately, however, there are also no real signs of feverish haste to satisfy Komsomol members with illusions of "achievement." Of course, there are problems which cannot be solved in an instant. A great deal depends on restructuring throughout the country as a whole.

But there is one area where everything depends solely on the Komsomol. I am talking about relations within the union, that is, order in the Komsomol "house." The changes proposed in this respect are causing perplexity and, frankly speaking, even a fear that the main line of the 20th congress is being imperceptibly (consciously or subconsciously) deviated from. Old rules condemned by the congress are being restored (albeit in new form).

The congress condemned the practice whereby the apparatus substitutes itself for elected bodies, as a result of which "in many areas ordinary Komsomol members and primary Komsomol organizations are alienated from the decisionmaking process..." The new regulations state: "Elected Komsomol bodies guide the activity... of the apparatus and its members and are responsible for their certification."

However, how can we ensure that the elected organ does not lose control over the apparatus? Many years spent trying to enhance the role of various commissions and staffs have not really been successful. More often than not, the latter have become an appendage of the apparatus. Past practice suggests that Komsomol committees are not likely to "spontaneously" find the optimum mechanism for relations between members of an elected organ and apparatchiks. This means that we need appropriate directives to clearly regulate these relations. We have no such directives at present.

New instructions on holding elections to leading Komsomol bodies are currently being discussed. But why should these instructions only concern electoral practice? Why not specially stipulate a mechanism to monitor the work of the apparatus? People may object to this suggestion, quoting the Komsomol Central Committee Bureau resolution on the certification of senior members of the apparatus: The resolution describes an accountability mechanism, they may say. Unfortunately, even this document is not irreproachable. It "forgets" a new and important provision of the congress resolution: Komsomol cadres are obliged to regularly report back to Komsomol members and youth on their activity and fulfillment of mandates. No mention is made of this. This means that once again certification will be reduced to nothing more than an explanation of relations within the apparatus. As a result we are reverting to the old "apparatus game" whereby cadres assess each other.

In my opinion, the draft instructions on holding elections should be dropped from the discussion and a new draft prepared with the provisional title "On Elected Organs, Cadres, and Rules of Administration in the Komsomol." The main task is to ensure that all new statutory regulations are underpinned by strict everyday norms.

It goes without saying that however perfect instructions may be, they will only bring success if there are people on the staff of the elected organs who are prepared to uphold the principles of democracy. This is where we come up against a "delicate" issue. Unwritten norms have evolved over time regarding the representation of workers, kolkhoz workers, engineering and technical personnel, and Komsomol members themselves in elected organs. It is these norms that form the basis of the infamous checklist approach. Elected organs are not made up of people who are best able to represent the interests of young people but of candidates who meet the necessary "checklist requirements": The right age, the right profession, the right nationality, and so forth. It is time we abandoned yesterday's stereotypes. Perhaps a young, innovative teacher on the raykom will prove to be far more useful than three 10th graders? Perhaps the enterprising leader of an amateur association will do more on the obkom than an excellent student? We must allow Komsomol members the right to nominate their most energetic, socially aware representatives without having to refer to any other indicators. It will be more complicated working with them, of course. They may express their own "obstinate" opinions on every decision taken and will not passively vote for everything proposed by the presidium. It will be more difficult but also more productive!

Now to the most worrying point. A clause has appeared in the Komsomol Statutes that is the greatest guarantee of democracy: Instructions are to be ratified after broad discussion in Komsomol organizations.

Yes, instructions are now discussed. But how? Here are some figures from a sociological survey conducted in December among 300 ex-Komsomol workers in one oblast. Almost half of them were not familiar with the draft instructions. Only one-third fully agreed with them. These were Komsomol workers. So what can one expect of ordinary Komsomol members?

Of course, it is perhaps true that matters are better arranged in other areas. But why must we again have to leave things to chance? The Komsomol Central Committee has instructed obkoms, kraykoms, and raykoms to organize the discussion and collection of proposals and observations. No clear-cut procedural norms have been stipulated, however. If it were an actual Central Committee requirement to discuss draft instructions at raykom and obkom plenums, the course taken by the discussion would, in my opinion, be more effective. But at present there is no way of telling how a discussion has gone or how the observations (and perhaps even the objections?) of cadres and the aktiv have been taken into account. Let us suppose that the obkoms have sent their proposals to the Central Committee and members of the Central Committee apparatus have taken them into consideration. What we do not know is: How? What did they agree on? What did they reject?

The union's millions of members are, in fact, left very much in the dark. The Komsomol press has also glossed over the question of instructions. This, despite the fact that it is no less important than discussion of the Komsomol Statutes, as it deals with the main issue—the rules of everyday Komsomol life. They may develop the democratic principles of the Statutes or simply turn them into a fine new cover for the old bureaucratic centralism.

The conclusion is bitter and simple. Initial attempts to restructure the democratic mechanism in the Komsomol have yet to produce results. I have deliberately put the issue in bald terms because I am sure that this is best admitted now rather than later. We have no time to waste. The Komsomol can only regain young people's trust through the truth. If we continue to delude ourselves with the idea that the congress and the new edition of the Statutes have solved everything and if we do not develop democratic practices, the task of restructuring will be torpedoed right from the start. We cannot allow a phrase on democracy to destroy democracy itself in the Komsomol.

Artists' Union Out of Touch With Public

PM191033 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[A. Tarkhanov article: "Still Only Arguing. Notes From News Conference at Artists' Union"]

[Text] The USSR Artists' Union is preparing for its seventh congress. Only a few days remain before it is due to begin. The news conference dedicated to the upcoming congress reflected the precongress situation to a considerable extent. It made one stop and think. So what did it show?

To the journalists who came for information, it illustrated with particular clarity just how complex the problems now facing the union really are. There were more questions than answers. N. Ponomarev, T. Salakhov, A. Vasnetsov, I. Obrosov, V. Myagkov, chairman of the board of the USSR Arts Foundation, other leaders, and union secretaries all gave similar appraisals of the situation when talking about the recent positive changes in the fine arts. Artists enjoy greater freedom in their work, there are no "forbidden" subjects, young people are more broadly involved, and so forth.

But there are still a great many problems—the union's numerous members are debating them across the country, and they are the subject of excited articles in the press. More cardinal changes are needed. But one formed the impression at the news conference that the union leadership either does not wish to reveal its plans or does not have any to reveal: There are no clear opinions on even the most basic problems.

In the last 12-18 months we have witnessed several creative unions' congresses. There is no satisfactory draft of the new statute; it has not even been published for broad discussion in the central press (there was just an article in MOSKOVSKIY KHUDOZHNIK) but has been distributed to every union member individually. Meanwhile literally every point in the draft is still being debated. What form should the union take, what kind of relationship should it have with the USSR Arts Academy and the Arts Foundation? Who can lead the union and on what terms? What form should art criticism take and what role should it play? How should exhibition practice be reorganized? And so on...

One feels that this decisive, long-awaited congress has been prepared for as if it were a routine discussion. Not without reason were journalists' questions given vague answers: "This will be decided at the congress," "We will discuss this some other time"... In short, problems which have been discussed for more than a year are to be decided during the 4-day congress. But at present there is just a feeling of confusion. The main problem is that the program for the changes that are so essential has still not been drawn up, not even the general outlines.

Today, in comparison with the recently formed artists associations, the union appears almost conservative. The claim that "if you are not a member of the union, you are not an artist" has led to the following conclusion: "There is no art outside the union." Meanwhile, the many auctions and exhibitions with open sales are the first signs of what is essentially the natural role played by the fine arts that is, nevertheless, new to us. The artist now has new opportunities: He actually gets to meet the public—and without the union's mediation. But this meeting has not been a totally happy one. It has become clear that the laws of the free market do not always favor real art and are sometimes no less restrictive than official prohibitions. What is more, the level of public tastes is often not very high; we have "neglected" the public: Very few interesting books and articles on art are published, and exhibitions are tiresome and uninteresting.

The question of artists from the Arbat, which affects all "independent artists" to an equal extent, immediately provoked an argument.

Igor Obrosov: I welcome what is happening in the Arbat. We have always assured people that we are on the public's side and have organized exhibitions, but now we have seen that we are in fact isolated and no one comes to see our exhibitions. This means that we ourselves have to find ways to reach the public.

Andrey Vasnetsov: Market "art" has always existed but no one paid any attention to it. We are now making a big thing out of it for some reason. No one intends to ban it but in many cases, unfortunately, it is not so much art as blatant commercialism and nonprofessionalism.

Oleg Savostyuk: The Arbat is a new phenomenon in the arts world. It cannot be categorically said that the Arbat is vulgar and the Manezh a paradise of art.

The most painful problem is perhaps apparent in the opinions of these three union leaders: In the 54th year of its existence the Artists' Union has lost its monopoly on the fine arts. This is in addition to the fact that it is weakened by internal contradictions and does not have enough exhibition halls, studios, or even good-quality paints and brushes.

Everyone realizes this to a greater or lesser extent. But they are drawing different conclusions. Should they give up their privileges and come into competition or try to solve creative differences by giving orders? Should they expand the union in line with the greater diversity of life or, on the contrary, "fence themselves in"? Painters and graphic artists only. And only those with a specialized education. As if people were not being accepted into a creative organization but applying for some "special" job.

In short, there are some things to discuss at the conference which opens in Moscow 19 January—this was shown by the news conference.

Roy Medvedev Cited on Stalinist Repression

PM190946 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 10 Jan 88 p 118-119

[Interview with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev by Giulietto Chiesa; date, place not given]

[Text] To examine the past: This can be considered the cautious watchword of the Soviet new course. To examine the past, to establish how to develop the de-Stalinization process, the public debate on which has already reached a level in the USSR difficult to imagine even recently. There is clearly an interdependence between the development of the reform and democratization and the rewriting of the too many blank pages in Soviet history: The former is unlikely to proceed without the disappearance, albeit gradual, of the latter. Nevertheless historian Roy Medvedev argues that this process has been going on for much longer, that it can be traced back to the 20th CPSU Congress, and that that was when the rehabilitations and de-Stalinization began.

[Chiesa] Is this or is this not so, Mr Medvedev?

[Medvedev] It may seem strange, but the whole of Soviet history is a history of repressions and rehabilitations. It is mistakenly believed that the rehabilitations started after the 20th CPSU Congress. This is not so. Millions of people were arrested in the thirties but many were released and rehabilitated for the most varied reasons. I will give you an example: The famous historian and academician, Tarle, was arrested in 1930. The false charge was that he was the foreign minister of a "clandestine bourgeois government", which was in fact entirely nonexistent. However, Stalin did not like this procedure, the trial did not take place, and Academician Tarle, having already been held for 3 months and publicly denounced as the people's enemy, was reinstated as an academician, with all the consequent benefits. Nevertheless it is true that rehabilitations became systematic after Stalin's death.

[Chiesa] Give me an example....

[Medvedev] Well, you could say that the rehabilitations started the very day after Stalin's death. This was the case with Molotov's wife, released 9 March. Several hundred people were released immediately, without any legal procedures. Moreover, a few months after the 20th congress the rehabilitations acquired a particular judicial form. A written request from a relative was actually needed to set proceedings in motion. The requests totaled 12,000.

[Chiesa] How was the rehabilitations issue tackled after the 20th congress?

[Medvedev] News of the condemnation of Stalin's crimes spread very quickly, while the rehabilitation procedures were very slow. How were the millions of cases of repression to be dealt with? Some 100 commissions were formed—one for each main prison camp—each comprising three members empowered to grant pardons and rehabilitations, usually the prerogative of the Supreme Soviet. In a few months they examined the personal files of every prisoner, without exception—a huge task.

[Chiesa] What were the results?

[Medvedev] For instance, all prisoners sentenced for criticizing Stalin and all those who had already completed their sentence were automatically released. The next step was the rehabilitation of former party members. A decision was reached only after a conversation with the prisoner. In most cases it happened without reservations, the only exceptions being members of opposition groups—supporters of Trotskiy and Bukharin, and so forth, who were released but not rehabilitated.

[Chiesa] How many prisoners were eventually released?

[Medvedev] There are no accurate statistics, but the estimate is 80% of prisoners, that is, 3-4 million people. This estimate does not include the dead, however.

[Chiesa] How do you mean?

[Medvedev] You could say that 90% of those arrested during the thirties had died by the time of the rehabilitation. Procedures for posthumous rehabilitation took place only at the relatives' request. It is estimated that the total number of people rehabilitated under Khrushchev, starting with those sentenced back in 1934, reached 17-18 million.

[Chiesa] So far we have discussed grand totals. Let us now consider another aspect—the rehabilitation of the major party figures. Unless I am mistaken, there is much confusion in this regard.

[Medvedev] There is confusion because they still have differing reputations within the party. The cases of Zinovyev and Kamenev cannot be linked with those of Bukharin and Trotskiy: They advocated different policy lines. However, it is also difficult to rehabilitate them because their arrest and execution were illegal in every way. Stalin accused them of espionage, conspiracy, and high treason. There was talk of a "right-wing Trotskiyist bloc", whereas Trotskiy is known in fact to have represented the Left. Kamenev and Zinovyev were accused of being Gestapo spies. All the trial proceedings from 1936 through 1938 need to be reappraised and repudiated. Khrushchev planned their rehabilitation but did not implement it. Brezhnev did not even consider it.

[Chiesa] Gorbachev seems to be issuing signals against these stereotypes of the past: Do you believe he will encounter difficulties?

[Medvedev] There is a concept that has governed the training of all CPSU cadres for the past 50 years, and that continues to govern it: Those party leaders were "the people's enemies." Even for Gorbachev it is difficult to entirely rewrite the party's history without causing political difficulties. You cannot rehabilitate someone if you do not then explain that the notorious Article 58 made it possible to skirt observance of legal penal procedure.

[Chiesa] Give me an example....

[Medvedev] Some astonishing things happened: You could hold a hearing without a defense attorney and even without a prosecution. For instance, if someone was accused of homicide and the evidence proved insufficient, the following procedure was adopted: He would be left in prison until he cursed the authorities, which would happen easily. Then all that was needed was an informer, a fellow prisoner to report him, and the suspect would be tried for defaming the socialist state instead of homicide. This charge would suffice to have him sentenced to up to 10 years in a labor camp.

[Chiesa] Is it possible that none of those informers and none of those examining magistrates paid for what they did? After all, many of them were still alive in 1956 and some are still alive now.... Is it possible to rehabilitate their victims without bringing their persecutors to trial?

[Medvedev] There were very few such trials, not because of any desire to protect the guilty parties but because the era of repressions was characterized by a rigid system whereby the executors of the terror were themselves subjected to repression the moment the next wave began. The unknown case of Yagoda is typical.

[Chiesa] Who was Yagoda?

[Medvedev] Yagoda organized the first trial against Zinovyev and Kamenev. Until 1936 he was people's commissioner for internal affairs and all the mass repressions through 1936 were carried out under his authority. When Yezhov replaced him he immediately started physically eliminating almost all NKVD cadres that had worked with Yagoda. For 2 years tens of thousands of outright sadists dominated the Interior Ministry. When Beria arrived they in turn were arrested and eliminated, starting with Yezhov himself. Then under Khrushchev Beria was arrested and executed, but despite three major trials, most of the executioners who worked for Beria at all levels were neither tried nor punished.

[Chiesa] The informers were not punished either....

[Medvedev] Of course, but the reason is obvious: If you were to examine the records you would find that there were many more of them than there were victims—millions and millions, many of whom gave false evidence under intimidation.

[Chiesa] Not even Khrushchev ever mentioned resolving this problem.

[Medvedev] Khrushchev ordered the destruction of the NKVD files on the top officials, with a few exceptions. However, he made a famous remark at a party meeting which, though never published, became known throughout the Soviet Union: "If we punished all those who gave false evidence we would have to send to the prison camps more people than we have released."

Shatrov Play on Lenin's Legacy Reviewed

PM191901 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 2, 10 Jan 88 p 12

["Interview with Myself" by Dmitriy Kazutin: "Everybody Is Under the Jurisdiction of History"]

[Text] Mikhail Shatrov wrote a new play called "On...On...and On!" MN has already written about it. Now the play has been published in the issue No 1 of ZNAMYA magazine. I must say that the play made a very strong impression on me. However, I'd like to begin—if you'll excuse me—with a long quote.

"Kamenev. Precisely because I said this many times to Comrade Stalin personally, precisely because I said this to a group of comrade Leninists, I repeat these words at the Congress—I've arrived at the conclusion that Comrade Stalin cannot play the role of unifier of the Bolshevik HQ (Voice in the audience: 'That's not right?' 'Hooey!'. 'So, that's it!'. 'They've revealed their hand!' Noise. Applause from the Leningrad delegation. Shouts: 'We won't give you the high command!', 'Stalin! 'Stalin!' The delegates get up and welcome Comrade Stalin. Stormy applause. Shouts: 'That's how the Party united. The Bolshevik HQ must unite').

"Yevdokimov (from his seat): Long live the Russian Communist Party! Hurrah! Hurrah! (The delegates rise and shout 'Hurrah!' Noise. Stormy, prolonged applause.)

"Yevdokimov (from his seat): Long live the Central Committee of our Party! Hurrah! (The delegates shout 'Hurrah!') The party is supreme! That's right! (Applause and shouts of 'Hurrah!')

"Voices from the audience: Long live Comrade Stalin!!! (Stormy, prolonged applause, shouts of 'Hurrah!' Noise.)

"The Chairman: Comrades, I ask you to calm down. Comrade Kamenev will now complete his speech.

"Kamenev: I've started this part of my speech with the words—we are against the theory of individualism, we are against the making of a leader. And I end my speech with these same words. (Applause by the Leningrad delegation.)

"Voice from the audience: Whom do you propose?

"The chairman: We'll have a 10-minute break."

[Question] That's a scene from Shatrov's play?

[Answer] No, those were excerpts from the verbatim report of the 14th Congress of the CPSU(B). Sixth session, December 21, 1925. I must say that the play has scenes as dramatic as this one.

[Question] And what, then, is this play about?

[Answer] We should give the author his due. He made the "behind-the-scenes talk" public. I put the words "behind-the-scenes talk" in quotes: this talk was everywhere, but till very recently not in the press, not at official meetings, scientific conferences or in research works. As a rule, these were private conversations. Mikhail Shatrov made them public.

All the heated arguments of recent years, or, to be more precise, of the last three decades—about the democratic alternative of the socialist revolution, about an armed uprising as a means of taking power, and about multi- or single-party socialist government, about whether Stalin was "a great continuer of Lenin's cause" or a renegade, about the need for a moral imperative in politics, about a revolutionary's morals and humanism—all these arguments are reflected to some degree in the intense debates between the 22 main characters in the play.

Taking part in the debates are Lenin; Stalin; Lenin's most prominent comrades-in-arms; Spiridonova, the leader of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries; the Mensheviks Plekhanov and Martov; Kerenskiy, prime minister of the Provisional Government; Struve, the former "legal Marxist", and several tsarist generals led by Kornilov.

[Question] Where did the author place this entire conglomerate of historic figures, of active participants in the revolution and counterrevolution? How is the place designated in the play?

[Answer] The action takes place in two spheres, so to speak—the real sphere, at the Winter Palace, the residence of the Provisional Government, at the Smolniy institute, the HQ of the October Revolution; at Fofanova's apartment, Lenin's last hiding place, and at the Bykhovskaya jail, where the generals who took part in Kornilov's mutiny were held, and the abstract sphere, similar to where the characters from the dialogues of the Ancient Greek writer Lucian speak, or to the place where the characters from Dante's "Divine Comedy" meet. The same is true of the time of action. In some cases the time is specific—October 24, 1917, and in other cases it includes the seven decades of our postrevolutionary history. But, then, there is no action in the traditional sense. The play's genre is "the dialogues of Plato", a drama of ideas, a drama of political ideas.

[Question] The method, though it isn't new, is audacious, because Lucian's "immortal gods" are one thing, and the politicians of our century are quite another. In this case the author runs the risk of being charged with something much more serious than blasphemy.

[Answer] I don't think so. His main characters are more than alive for us. They excite our thoughts and emotions more than some of our contemporaries do. However, I'm now least of all interested in the play's composition, even though I consider it Shatrov's best play to date. What I'm interested in is its essence, its political, or, to be more precise, moral-political meaning.

As I see it, Mikhail Shatrov has made a daring attempt to stage the judgment of history by means of artistic journalism. If we continue with the comparison of the play to a court, then the "case tried" in the play concerns the retreat from the ideals of the October Revolution, from Lenin's principles, from the genuine foundations of Leninism, i.e., the steps backward after Lenin's death which led to the 1937 tragedy.

[Question] In short, is Stalin on trial?

[Answer] Yes, but not Stalin alone. This court in general has no dock for some and no procurator's rostrum for others. The author gave each of his characters the right to prosecute and defend himself, to cross-examine the witnesses and give his own testimony. Everybody is on trial, including Lenin, who is much stricter on himself than on many others.

"Lenin: I'm, of course, guilty before the workers of Russia, because due to my wretched illness I didn't manage to transfer Stalin.... I started too late to make all this possible.

"Sverdlov: But, Vladimir Ilyich....

"Lenin: Don't spare me! Let everyone know that I do not absolve myself of the moral guilt and responsibility for what has happened."

[Question] Isn't this idea of the author too free? And, in general, aren't we witnessing here a sort of avant-garde attitude in fiction and theater? We essentially do not have a single serious historical study on, say, the problems of Lenin's "Testament". Can it be replaced by the "author's version of events", in this case Shatrov's version? Even Pushkin based his "Boris Godunov" on Karamzin's "History".

[Answer] This doubt is reasonable. I'm not sure myself whether it is good that many of us know about the events of the 1812 Patriotic War exclusively from Leo Tolstoy's novel.

[Question] Or, even worse, from Sergey Bondarchuk's film.

[Answer] I agree. But what is to be done? The historians kept silent for such a long time, and if they were not silent, only very rarely could some of them go beyond the concepts of Stalin's Concise Course of the CPSU(B) History. In his play Shatrov ascribes an extremely important role to the destiny of Lenin's "Testament"—his "Letter to the Congress". According to Shatrov's version the fact that the "Letter to the Congress" was not discussed at the 13th CPSU(B) Congress, but was read out to each delegation separately and rejected (if we're to call a spade a spade), was fateful for the Party, was the beginning of the departure of Lenin's comrades-in-arms from Lenin. It is not only that they ignored "the last testament" of the man to whom they had pledged their loyalty so many times. Lenin's "last testament" was a political act. But his "Testament" was not carried out not only as regards the "transfer" of Stalin, but also as regards the "changes in the political structure" which were proposed by the author of the "Letter to the Congress". This concerns not only Zinovyev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Rykov, but also Dzevzhinskiy, Ordzhonikidze, Kalinin, Kirov and many others who were Central Committee members and voted to read the "Letter to the Congress" to each delegation separately.

Morally, it is precisely apostasy. The play shows this quite convincingly. However, not everything in the "Letter to the Congress" is clear to me. Of the people nearest to him Lenin characterizes only six—Trotskiy, Stalin, Zinovyev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Pyatakov. But at the time Dzevzhinskiy, Ordzhonikidze, Radek, Rudzutak, Rykov, Frunze, Kirov and other quite influential people in the Party were either Central Committee members or alternate members. Not a word was said about them. I don't think there was nothing to say about them, but nothing was said. I think that to grasp the principle by which Lenin was guided in this case would mean to grasp more deeply the course of Lenin's thought and the meaning of the "Letter" itself. Especially as the Party leaders whom I have listed were most active in the ideological struggle that started after Lenin's death and which, as Mikhail Gorbachev put it, "was complicated" to a considerable extent "by personal rivalries in the Party leadership". But this is precisely the case when nothing can replace a serious study of the records of the Politbureau, Central Committee Plenary Meetings and correspondence between the most prominent Party leaders.

[Question] Still, we've deviated from the question of "avant-gardism" in fiction, haven't we?

[Answer] Let's go back to it. The historians were silent, but Shatrov, beginning with his political drama "July 6", worked for 25 years on what I call the moral foundations of Leninism.

Recently I've reread Stalin's famous lectures "Concerning Questions of Leninism". This work was studied, or, rather, learned by heart, by more than one generation, though Lenin was decisively against such learning by rote. Everyone, myself included, was at one time full of admiration for Stalin's simplicity and clarity of expression. After this simplicity and clarity Lenin's own books seemed awfully complicated and hard to understand. When taking exams on Lenin's works students preferred to use Stalin's words. The professors, as a rule, did not object. In this way we became divorced from Lenin before we became used to him. But what amazed me now—what I ignored before (and, probably, could not but ignore)—is that Stalin's lectures do not contain one word about Lenin's morals and ethics, not one word about his humanism, not one word about the need to know "all the treasures created by mankind", and not one word about Lenin's demand for the truth always and in everything. The lectures are more like a military manual than a "masterful expression and theoretical substantiation of Leninism", as they are described in the preface to volume 6 of Stalin's works. Only by going through the tragedy, officially called "Stalin's personality cult", have we realized how important and necessary the morals and humanism of Lenin's teachings are for us. This distorted "picture of the world" devoid of these most important constructive elements and implanted in our minds by Stalin with the aid of "simple and clear expression", and without any real resistance on our own part ("We believed you, Comrade Stalin, as maybe we did not believe ourselves"—these textbook lines written during the personality cult contain the truth, but the truth of spiritual slavery) has not been completely eradicated or overcome by us to this day.

In Shatrov's play, Lenin resolutely refuses Stalin the right to be called Lenin's disciple: "And if you, and people like you," he says to Stalin, "call yourselves Lenin's disciples, Leninists, then I'm not a Leninist."

[Question] Another doubt: How could Lenin, not in the play, but in real life, have pronounced such a simple verdict on Stalin? Even when he proposed to remove Stalin from the post of general secretary, Lenin added: "...And to appoint another man in his stead who in all other respects differs from Comrade Stalin in having only one advantage, namely, that of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and more considerate to the comrades, less capricious, etc."

[Answer] In the play, Lenin assesses Stalin's activities not in 1923 but in 1953. This is a summing up. Lenin speaks on behalf of history, or I'd better say, from the vantage point of the level of our understanding of our own history which we have currently managed to attain. We, for example, formulated one historical paradox—Stalin who was instrumental in smashing Troskiyism later on implemented quite a lot of Trotskiy's own principles. And if Lenin wrote in 1923 about the "non-Bolshevism" of Trotskiy, a Central Committee member who "is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C.", then in 1988 he has all the grounds to refuse Stalin the right to call himself Lenin's disciple. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed the same idea—in other words—in his report on the 70th anniversary of the

October Revolution: "The guilt of Stalin and his immediate entourage before the Party and the people in the wholesale repressive measures and acts of lawlessness is enormous and unforgivable."

Shatrov has showed, however sketchily, the tragedy of the Bolsheviks who allowed themselves to be intimidated. The idea that "Intimidated Bolshevism" would shame itself for-ever and would cease to exist as a political trend was often voiced by Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution in connection with the question of the armed uprising which was to give power to the Bolsheviks. In that argument with his comrades-in-arms, Lenin was the winner. Did he think that the fear of "Trotskiy's dictatorship"—and that was exactly the justification used by Lenin's comrades-in-arms for their refusal to remove Stalin from the post of general secretary—would prove stronger than Lenin's authority? To say nothing of the tragic consequences of the "fear of Stalin". But this fear was also a retribution.

"To expel you utterly from our souls!" Dzerzhinskiy says to Stalin in the play. This resembles Chekhov's words: "To squeeze a drop of a slave out of yourself each and every day." The personality cult was the product of a slavish psychology, but, according to Lenin, the slave who has realized his status as a slave and rises against it is a revolutionary.

In his final comment Shatrov writes: "And so they (Lenin and Stalin) would leave... But as yet he is still on the stage."

And he'll remain on the stage until each and every one of us has assessed his own feelings about Stalin. From the point of view of a revolutionary, from Lenin's point of view.

Yevtushenko Disputes Award of Prize to Kunyayev
PM191423 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jan 88 p 7

[Yevg. Yevtushenko "Letter to the Editor": "Ill Will Rewarded"; last two paragraphs are editorial note]

[Text] The award of the M. Gorkiy RSFSR State Prize to S. Kunyayev as a critic and journalist evoked a sense of indignant perplexity in me. I admit I did not believe they could award him this prize, which bears the name of a man who used to weep when he heard other people's poems. That is why I did not take the opportunity to contribute to the discussion of the candidates in the press.

Let us look at the book for which the prize was awarded. Here, for instance, are some direct insults against V. Vysotskiy: "Vysotskiy gave much for popular success. The 'honey-tongued thief,' over whom, as Voznesenskiy (?!—Ye. Ye.) said, Russia should 'weep,' did not produce one (!—Ye. Ye.) cheerful song about Russia, about its great history or the Russian character, a song written from love, or failing that (!—Ye. Ye.) from Blokian feeling..." And even worse: "...The illustrious bard, for the sake of popular success, 'for effect,' was merciless toward the things our nation holds sacred." Or: "These songs did not struggle against chaos, but, on the contrary, provided an aesthetic setting for it."

What a strange juxtaposition, when the RSFSR State Prize is awarded to a book which defames, with impunity, a singer, actor, and poet, prematurely lost to us, and who has only just, to our joy, albeit mingled with grief, been awarded the USSR State Prize posthumously! It is hardly kind. After that, it is hard to be kind, to "soften your tone," when talking with Kunyayev and his abettors.

Kunyayev began insulting Vysotskiy in his article in NASH SOVREMENNIK (No 7, 1984), over the falsified story of the grave of a certain "Major Petrov," which was supposedly desecrated by barbarous Vysotskiy fans, but in fact never existed. According to testimonies, "the scoundrels, who were later jailed, made such a fine-looking grave that people would have bought it" (MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR, 10 July 1987). How can you give the State Prize to a book which spits on Vysotskiy's grave from the false vantage point of a fabricated grave invented by scoundrels? Kunyayev even claims, in the book for which the prize was awarded, that Vysotskiy is responsible for the fact that "a child today, if he first hears Vysotskiy's parody of 'The Cove,' is barely capable of experiencing its soul-forming (!—Ye. Ye.) feeling on reading the real 'Cove,' because its characters have been hopelessly (!-Ye. Ye.) ridiculed. The fairy tale is destroyed (!—Ye. Ye.)..." Vysotskiy is presented in Kunyayev's book as a "destroyer" of Pushkin, antagonist of Shukshin, and corrupter of taste.

If you assemble all the addressees of Kunyayev's attacks, it turns out that their common trait is popularity, something which Kunyayev cannot physically stand. In the book for which the prize was awarded Kunyayev also cites his poetry on this subject as corroboration for the articles: "Versifiers, trumpeters, jesters, the motley performance band, I thought in the village of Ruchi, over which sunsets blaze, that the honorariums, prestige, and placards will disappear into space in a stench (!—Ye. Ye.) and that this eternal smoke will reach the future from under a roof where an old woman is brewing a potion (homebrew or what?—Ye. Ye) and muttering a snatch of a melody, creating culture with greater passion than all your great choir..." This is insulting en masse not only "popular poets" but also actors, singers, satirists, and musicians, all those who dared to become popular and set foot on the "magic place"—the stage. But if we are being principled then Kunyayev himself, to set others an example, should also have renounced both honorariums and placards, yet he frequently sank to that which he deemed to be profanity and apostasy of the "eternal art," permitting his own placards over the stench-ridden House of Writers. These verses are hopelessly bad and their tone is hypocritical and envious. It would be good

for Kunyayev to recall that envy is like the fox cub hidden in the bosom of a young arrogant Spartan, which ultimately ate away at his viscera. You must learn to pardon others for the fact that their popularity is greater than yours, for this popularity is not always hollow and cheap but is sometimes achieved through an entire lifetime of suffering and merited by the talents which you cannot generate by any of the assiduity characteristic of ambitious mediocrities. This is the hypocrisy with which Kunyayev writes in the book for which the prize has been awarded about the great artist Marc Chagall, from whose painting an age-old ban has now, fortunately, been lifted: "Chagall is decorative... Chagall's illustrations (!—Ye. Ye.)... are essentially mathematical, plotted rationally, unidimensional. His creative work has a clear literary foundation. There is an absence of lyrical effort in it, without which it is impossible to create an artistic world of any value." Kunyayev rashly pins a political tag on Voznesenskiy: "...Voznesenskiy's verses about peoples and countries, 'love's intended,' are demonstratively lacking in sociohistorical approach and class criteria..." Is there any point in sticking political labels on writers?

Kunyayev, like all other litterateurs, has the right to voice his assessments however cutting, but to award a prize on behalf of Russia for aggressive ill will toward so many of the living and the dead—how could this be possible? Once in the fifties Svetlov set us young poets a verse exercise which he himself had devised: "Might Is Right." How did Kunyayev thank the older poet for the only one of Kunyayev's verses to become widely known and which he was given by Svetlov? True the book for which the prize was awarded does not contain Kunyayev's seditious article "For the Sake of Life on Earth," but it was printed in the eighth issue of MOLODAYA GVARDIYA for 1987, and during discussion of the candidates the conversation must, in my opinion, have turned not only to specific books but also to the moral outlook of the writers as a whole.

This is what Kunyayev writes about Svetlov and Bagritskiy, sinking to offensive generalizations which they would not be resigned to even at the worst of times: "'Forget about Svetlov and Bagritskiy'—this meant that the poet of another generation fearlessly and precisely formulated the essence of the new thinking and the new humanism..." No, there can be no new thinking without Svetlov's "Grenada," for the new thinking is based not on narrow nationalism with its hysterical shift to chauvinism but on the great ideas of international fraternity. It is bad and unseemly when Kunyayev maliciously deprecates Slutskiy's poetry ("...there is no talk here either of any trench fellowship or of any front-line fraternity. Slutskiy's political instructor is seeking his own goal at any price and 'for him Slavs and ethnic minorities' are merely cogs in the war..."), Mezhirov's poetry ("for him, the darling of fortune, a sybarite," war "however dreadful, is still theater"), and Okudzhava's poetry ("Arbat Hemingwayism"). If Svetlov were alive he would sigh bitterly: "There is might but where is right?"

And it is quite morally inadmissible when Kunyayev coolly taunts and pokes fun at young poets who in their time died at the front—P. Kogan, A. Kopshteyn, N. Otrada, and M. Kulchitskiy—stooping to tactless, mischievous generalizations to the effect that their poetry was "like attempts by artists of the French Revolution to paint the heroes of the years 1789-1793 in Greek helmets, ancient tunics, and with the short swords and shields of Trojan War times."

Kunyayev expresses obsequious delight at Blok, Yesenin, and Rubtsov. But you can involuntarily doubt a man who, while taking a sentimental delight in the classics, carelessly and brutally insults the dead in order for you and I to live. He should not be awarded a prize for this, he should not...

On the whole I think that we are in a bad way as far as prizes go. Thus, the 1987 Lenin Komsomol Prize was awarded to Feliks Chuyev with no chance of a public discussion even, for his name did not figure in the lists of candidates. Unabashed, Anatoliy Ivanov, chairman of the awards commission, announced this fact with eloquent frankness in his interview with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (4 November).

A. Latynina's article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and many letters from readers justifiably said that in an atmosphere of democratization it is necessary to have a principled attitude toward the awarding of prizes. Otherwise the prestige of the prizes will fall even more more.

As a Russian poet and Russian reader I take exception to the decision to award S. Kunyayev the RSFSR State Prize.

From the editorial office: In his letter Yevg. Yevtushenko rightly remarks that he "did not take the opportunity" to take part in discussing S. Kunyayev's book when it was submitted for the RSFSR State Prize. Yet he had more than 2 months to do this.

Nevertheless the editorial office has deemed it possible to print Yevg. Yevtushenko's letter today, bearing in mind that the award of the State Prize does not preclude the existence of various viewpoints about the particular work on which it has been conferred.

Economic

Sokolov Interviewed on State Acceptance

18200036a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with B.N. Sokolov, first deputy chairman of USSR State Committee for Standards and Doctor of Technical Sciences by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Romanyuk; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The state acceptance of products has become an important element of the new economic mechanism. The difficult, complicated and at the same

time necessary stage concerned with its development now lies behind us. As is known, on 1 January of this coming year the Law Governing a State Enterprise enters into force and the principles of self-financing and complete cost accounting become guiding aspects in our economic life. State acceptance will be called upon to solve new tasks. In 1988 the zone of its activity will be expanded considerably. Will this consist merely of quantitative growth or do we also have in mind a new stage in nondepartmental control from the standpoint of quality?

[Answer] The zone of activity for gospriyemka is truly being expanded. In particular, it is being introduced into operations for the very first time at processing enterprises of the agro-industrial complex. Taking into account the complicated situation in the construction industry and the many complaints received regarding the quality of construction work, the decision was made to introduce nondepartmental control at 72 enterprises of the construction industry and to organize the state acceptance of housing and socio-cultural installations in 20 regions of the country.

All of the above has to do with quantity. The new stage in state acceptance, however, is also concerned with quality. Today it is tasked with strengthening its influence on the technical level of output, production organization and on the preparation of normative-technical documentation. This represents a natural development for this new work—not only in breadth but also in depth. Experience has shown that of all of the defects detected 80% involved completion materials and only 20%—finished products. Thus maximum efforts must be directed toward improving completion operations. It was by no means an accident that 314 of 732 new state acceptance operations took place at enterprises engaged in the production of completion products and materials. We must still overcome a "complex of discrepancies" in connection with raw material requirements. One often hears the statement being made that "it is impossible for us to create raw materials of the same quality as that belonging to others." Yet the reliability of the machines is directly dependent upon the quality of this completion work. For example, it is difficult to discuss a reduction in the weight of machines if such items as high-strength metal, high quality seals, reliable hydraulics, highly accurate shapes and the required service life are lacking.

Recently our committee approved a program of complete standardization for an entire production "pyramid" (raw materials—completion units and finished products) for agricultural tractors. The program calls for uniform normative requirements for all units and materials used in this production. Naturally, the requirements take into account the world level and international standards. I do not wish to engage in excessive optimism and yet it seems to be that the work already begun holds great promise for the future.

[Question] In the press, one often finds the expression "state acceptance extinguished..."

[Answer] Yes, it extinguished. Sore points of production. It linked us to production from a functional standpoint. Today we are exerting a direct influence on the quality characteristics concerned with the fulfillment of plans and we recognize our responsibility. It can be said that one half of the 1,500 enterprises and associations at which state acceptance was introduced accepted it rather calmly, since it utilized the preparatory period in a sensible manner. The second half, however, acted in a very feverish manner.

[Question] You indulged yourself and began issuing promissory notes to the enterprises, in some instances for 2-3 months and in others for 6 months, that is, you accepted products with deviations. True, this was done in connection with specific plans and measures, with the required consent of the consumers and with a deduction from the wholesale price. Did this not involve sacrificing some principle?

[Answer] Not quite. As a rule, state acceptance did not accept products containing deviations from the normative-technical documentation. During the first 6 months, the shipping of products was halted in hundreds of instances. They were returned for additional processing and repeated testing. Naturally, the degree of labor-intensiveness and the production costs for the products increased in the process.

[Question] What is the situation now?

[Answer] The situation has been corrected at many plants and associations. But approximately 100 enterprises, including some large ones, continue to carry out their work in a feverish manner. This comes as no surprise. When state acceptance was only in the developmental stage, not every worker, director or even minister could imagine the failure in quality that would befall production during the years of stagnation as a result of the concentration on "gross" production.

But it is not enough to merely see the sore points: We demand firm guarantees that the products will be fault-free. One must pay for quality—through work efforts, material expenditures and organizational restructuring.

[Question] Is it possible to state today that we have achieved a noticeable improvement in quality?

[Answer] No, a radical turning point has still not been reached and inertia is still quite considerable. However, a profound psychological restructuring has taken place in the attitude toward quality at all levels of management—from worker to minister. Discipline has been tightened up and improvements realized in production organization. Order is being restored in the area of normative-technical documentation. Compared to earlier when 60% of the documentation was being violated—today only 15-20%.

[Question] At the enterprises, voices are often heard discussing the "intrigues" of state acceptance. These voices hold that it is too fault-finding, it tends to disorganize production and it inhibits the carrying out of an agreement. The situation is especially grave in machine building. The failure in the ball bearing industry was considerable: it fell behind by more than 20 million units. Following the introduction of state acceptance labor-intensiveness here increased by 15-20%. As the saying goes, less is better, yes better. But this "better" is causing many branches of the national economy to act in a feverish manner. Is this not so?

[Answer] What "intrigues" can possibly be discussed if state acceptance in its requirements is strictly limited within the framework of existing standards and technical conditions? This is the extent of it. It does not advance any additional requirements and I emphasize this fact in particular. Not more than 82-85% of the products pass state acceptance upon initial presentation, with the remainder being returned for additional processing. Certainly, this creates tension in the matter of deliveries. But there is still another factor to be considered. This year the work of state acceptance has already prevented deliveries of defective products to consumers valued at 6 billion rubles. As you can see, such work can involve many conflicts and "fault-finding."

[Question] Boris Nikolayevich, let us define this problem more precisely: Exactly what does state acceptance control? According to estimates by Western specialists, up to 70% of the defective products are associated with failures in the design solutions, 20-30% with problems in the technological processes and only 5-15% are caused by fault on the part of the workers. State acceptance places emphasis upon the finished products and in the process fails to exercise proper control. Is this not so?

[Answer] The practical effectiveness of state acceptance lies in the influence it exerts in improving technology and strengthening production discipline. In analyzing the defects of finished products, state acceptance reveals their causes and, jointly with the enterprises, strives to correct them. The tasks of state acceptance include the development of design and technological documentation, the restoration of "lost" technological operations and ensuring the availability of the required instruments and equipment. Special attention is given to the carrying out of testing, so as to make it possible to objectively evaluate the level of quality in the products being produced.

Here then are some results of this work. For example, at the Kharkov Tractor Plant, by means of joint efforts, the service life for T-150 and T-150K tractors was raised from 6,000 to 8,000 motor hours and the overall service life—from 10,800 to 14,400. This is equivalent to an increase in the production of tractors of 20,000 units annually, with no increase in additional expenditures. At the Balakovo Industrial Rubber Products Plant, the reliability of seals for Zhiguli automobiles was doubled.

[Question] The chief economist for the Moscow Typewriter Plant I. Grinberg sent a letter to the editorial board. He cited the losses sustained by the collective following a check carried out by the Moscow Center for Standardization and Metrology on the quality of its machines. Twelve thousand units were removed from marketable production and, as a result, 406,000 rubles were withdrawn from their budgetary profit and payments from the incentive fund were terminated completely.

[Answer] It can be stated directly that state acceptance is in a conflicting situation by virtue of its very nature. Some directors claim that some of their products are being rejected despite the fact that they sold like hotcakes yesterday. But such logic will never aid us in raising the technical level of products. A very typical aspect was noted by M.S. Gorbachev while in Murmansk: Workers understand well that no deviations from the program aimed at improving quality can be tolerated. They supported state acceptance and have begun imposing requirements upon the engineering staffs of enterprises. The workers claim that they possess the skills required for preventing defective products from developing. They promise to furnish faultless products provided they are provided with well-adjusted machine tools and equipment and intelligently prepared drawings. Certainly, not everything here is of a simple nature. It happens that workers leave plants where state acceptance has been introduced into operations and join plants where it is lacking to obtain high earnings. Announcements are found on every corner "the requirements are as follows..." Nevertheless the attitude in the labor collectives with regard to quality changes with each passing day. Herein lies a basic conclusion derived from the brief experience of state acceptance.

[Question] What effect has state acceptance had on the work of Gosstandart [State Committee for Standards]?

[Answer] In my opinion, the effect has been refreshing. We received the assistance of a large group of engineering and professional personnel. It bears mentioning that state acceptance personnel have been reproached for various sins but not for technical incompetence. State acceptance furnishes us with a strong link with production. In many instances, we have seen more clearly the vague nature of our standards and their lack of conformity. In short, the field for action has been outlined more clearly.

[Question] State acceptance has placed on the agenda the question concerning the fate of departmental control. It can be stated directly that the OTK [Department of Technical Control] has been discredited based upon a lack of principle. Thus, does it not make sense to devote some thought to eliminating the departments for technical control at enterprises and to transferring quality control over to state acceptance?

[Answer] But then we would have to increase its personnel strength by at least tenfold. The OTK services are an important element in production and quality control—an indispensable part of the technological process. Still another task consists of raising the prestige of this service, increasing the skills of its personnel, equipping them with modern means for exercising control and raising their wages to the level for the principal production operations.

[Question] Can we not discuss the advantages of economic control methods and indeed the basis for state acceptance—the issuing of directives?

[Answer] You will no doubt agree that in our case the quality of products is weakly linked to the wages being paid to the workers. For so long a period as this link is lacking, control is needed. Including control over the preparations for work under the new conditions. In the absence of high quality, it is difficult to achieve self-support and profitability. Thus state acceptance is not a barrier nor a brake as some economic experts would have us believe, but rather it is a step toward cost accounting.

Certainly, we must rely more boldly upon economic levers. Let us take the certification of products. It is no secret that bonuses for the Badge of Quality long ago "grew into" a bonus fund. Any sanctions, for example removal of the Badge of Quality, are viewed as almost being a hostile action. A decree is presently being prepared on the new system for certifying products. The plans call for the introduction of a system in which products will be certified only for the state Badge of Quality and then based upon the initiative of the enterprises themselves (with the appropriate mark-up added onto the price). Under the conditions of self-financing, it is economically profitable for them to make competitive products for both the domestic and foreign markets.

[Question] What about all-around systems for controlling the quality of products? There are very few enterprises at which such systems are truly affecting quality.

[Answer] It is unfortunate that from the very beginning, despite the fact that a great amount of effort was invested in their organization, these systems were very formal in nature and were not reinforced by appropriate material resources.

[Question] Is it possible the future belongs to regional all-around "Quality" programs?

[Answer] The creation of regional programs is truly making it possible to make all efforts aimed at raising the technical level and quality of products more purposeful in nature. Thus the goal of the Belorussian Republic's "Quality" program is that of raising the proportion of high quality products, subject to certification, to 70 and machine building products—to 95%. Generally speaking, regional programs truly lay claim to becoming one of the principal instruments of the quality control system.

[Question] A great amount of criticism is being heard regarding the low level of requirements embodied in the standards. Simply stated, the standards are not always adequate.

[Answer] However, it should be noted that there have been many complaints regarding the stern requirements of the standards. If the former derive from the consumer, then the second naturally derive from the producer. Standardization during a stagnant period definitely revealed a compromise between a producer and consumer. One of the chief tasks at the present time is that of raising the domestic standards such that they conform fully to the international standards. In the process, it should be borne in mind that the standards throughout the entire world regulate only the minimal level of requirements for products.

[Question] Is this why the proportion of our products that conform to the international level is so negligible? And there is no turning point in sight. In 1988, only 2.6% of our tractor engines, 19.5% of our gas-turbine units and 25.3% of our truck-mounted loaders will conform to the international technical level.

[Answer] One rule must be followed: Quality is embodied in a plan, ensured in production, and confirmed during operation. In conventional practice, "recognition" of the chief consumer properties—reliability and the service life of a product—takes place during operations. It is only in the field that we recognize that a combine does not cut and a plow does not turn over the soil. Throughout the entire world, maximum "recognition" rests with the scientific-research and experimental-design operations. In Japan, the United States and Western Europe, roughly 10-20% of the capital investments are made available for such work and strong laboratories, proving grounds and automated complexes are created.

Branch standards (technical conditions) are becoming an important factor in connection with improving quality. Their requirements must exceed the requirements of our own and foreign standards and ensure that Soviet products are truly competitive on the international market.

At one time, we were criticized for the fact that a low level for the standards was holding back technical progress. We are ourselves examining the "philosophy" of these standards. The new approach must be as follows: the lowest level, and here I emphasize the lowest level, for the product requirements must be the international level. Indeed, if we shift the center of gravity for economic life downward, provide the enterprises with independence and ensure that their products are competitive, then the branch standards must be oriented toward exceeding the international level to a substantial degree.

For example, the Japanese have established the following task: to surpass by twofold the requirements of their own national standards by the year 2000. Such a stimulating start for standardization is only taking shape now in our country, whereas international practice has moved way out in front in this regard.

Thus, properly speaking, we are planning a radical restructuring in standardization. We wish generally to reject those organizational- methodological standards which more often than not were required for finding a compromise between the requirements of a GOST [state standard] and the branch's potential and more than likely to the detriment of quality. For a uniform technical policy, it is sufficient to have state standards which regulate the interrelationships of all those who are involved in the creation of goods. In our opinion, this will make it possible to rid standardization of bureaucratic excesses.

[Question] Will there be less paperwork?

[Answer] Beyond any doubt! In principle, the creative process involved in the creation of new equipment must not be severely regulated. A designer requires complete freedom and unfettered creative initiative. At the same time, the level of product requirements at the end of the production line must be controlled in a very strict manner.

Today we are employing state acceptance in a manner so as to achieve this control.

'Paths of Radical Reform' Program

LD200940 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1335 GMT 19 Dec 87

["On the Paths of Radical Reform" program, presented by Political Observer Lev Aleksandrovich Voznesenskiy, with Vladimir Potapovich Mozhin, CPSU Central Committee Economic Department first deputy chief]

[Excerpts] [Voznesenskiy] Hello, comrades: Only a very short time remains till 1 January, when a number of industries and many enterprises in other industries will go over to complete financial autonomy, self-financing, and self-recouping, when they will be living and working in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). This will be—it has to be—a turning point in the lives of an enormous mass of people, many thousands of collectives and literally millions and millions of working people. It is going to be a complicated, very difficult, and very crucial time in the life of every collective and every person. Today we have asked Vladimir Potapovich Mozhin, CPSU Central Committee Economic Department first deputy head and doctor of economics, to speak about this changeover and preparations for it.

Vladimir Potapovich, clearly the first question that suggests itself—and it is a perfectly natural one—is this: What is your assessment of the extent to which enterprises—those that are due to go over to the new method of economic management—are ready for this truly decisive step in their life. Or, to use the words of one of our television viewers, Ivan Nikolayevich Shvedov, a lathe-operator from Moscow, how many enterprises have reported that they are not ready for restructuring? Could you give a percentage?

[Mozhin] Well, Lev Aleksandrovich, I must say that 60% of industrial enterprises are going over to the new economic management conditions in our country from 1 January, together with the whole of transport, building organizations, scientific organizations, and some areas of the agro-industrial complex. This really is a major event, a very significant one, and, generally speaking, active preparations for it are taking place everywhere. But I would not say the situation is identical everywhere. There are enterprises, and even whole areas, where preparations are proceeding in a very active way and where the level of readiness is quite high. I can give the names of areas and individual enterprises. If one is to take here republics, perhaps preparations are going best in, say, Latvia and Belorussia, in the Gorkiy Oblast, in the Sverdlovsk Oblast. Some of our major enterprises have already prepared themselves, one can say: take, for example, the Leningrad Izhorskiy Zavod Association, a major enterprise. Furthermore it's not just that they've prepared themselves for financial autonomy here at the enterprise level, this financial autonomy has gone down to the workshop and the team, which is very important, and this financial autonomy is getting down to the workplace. That's precisely what's going to give us the greatest effect. [passage omitted]

[Mozhin] You could name, say, an enterprise like the RAF works, a well-known enterprise, and then the Nizhenekamsk petrochemicals enterprise and others. But at the same time I must say that studies of this question show individual enterprises have a large number of problems, serious problems which still must be solved. Here, of course, we are relying upon the experience of those industries which have been working under the new conditions this year.

[Voznesenskiy] Five ministries.

[Mozhin] Five ministries, the enterprises of five ministries, although I must say that overall these are not working in accordance with the law on the enterprise; they have conditions that are somewhat different. Only from 1 January are they going to work in the same way as all the others, under the conditions of this law.

[Voznesenskiy] All the same they are working on the basis of complete financial autonomy, self-financing, and self-recouping.

[Mozhin] Yes, yes. It must be said that if one takes everything together, the 1st year isn't up yet, and so we will only be adding up the final results in January, but it is possible to say now that according to such important indicators as fulfillment of obligations under contracts and fulfillment of the profit plan the enterprises of these industries do look better, although according to other indicators like rate of growth and so on they do not yet stand out here. But I would simply like to say again that all the elements of the new economic system have not yet been switched in. What's more they will still not be working from 1 January, either.

[Voznesenskiy] In full measure.

[Mozhin] In full measure, because we still have to change the wholesale prices system. We have to put the national economy onto wholesale trade so this is going to be a transitional process.

[Voznesenskiy] That is the reason for its complexity.

[Mozhin] That is why it is complex and over the coming 2 to 3 years—but in any event up to the year 1991—we will have a situation where both old and new methods will operate in the economy. Of course this will create definite complications and this must be taken into account by all of us in our work. But what are the main problems that arise? First of all we are worried about the financial state of some enterprises. I am thinking about the question asked by the comrade. How many of them are not yet ready? I am able to say that those enterprises which are not profitable, which are loss-making, are not ready, it can be said. One in 10 fall into that category in our country at the moment. Perhaps one of the main questions now, therefore, is the creation of a stable financial situation in every enterprise and in every association. We are directing the activity of party organizations and the ministries and so on toward this end.

In what way is it possible to achieve this? In the first place through better use of the enterprise's resources. The resources, the capital investment, say, can be directed into new construction as has been done in the past. More and more jobs have been created. The resources can be directed into reconstruction, meaning economies, meaning doing things cheaper, and this will give the enterprise some result. Financial discipline and contract discipline must be strengthened, and then there will be fewer penalties. Everything at the enterprise must be used—I am thinking of rationalizers' proposals, new ideas of all kinds, and so on. That is one problem, the problem linked with finances.

Another problem is linked with the practice of concluding contracts. You are aware that now the main part of the output, one may say, is determined—that is to say the task of the enterprise included in the plan—is determined on the basis of economic agreements. It must be said that this campaign on contracts has been a difficult one. It is now coming to an end. An effect is being had here by a lack of experience, I would say, a lack of ability on the part of many leaders to do business other than as directed from above. Usually the enterprise was given the plan for the task and the supplies form above, and marketing of its output was guaranteed, and so on. Now, on many questions one has to act oneself. One must seek out one's purchaser and consumer. The first experience shows that the psychological turn-around has not yet taken place completely, that many people are waiting for instructions of some kind to come down from above instead of making contacts for themselves, reaching agreements, and so on. [passage omitted]

[Voznesenskiy] Perhaps here we should note, too, the second side to this problem, not just the economic side but also the social side, the fact that we now obviously have to step up the question of democratization, of solving the question of democratizing management. This, too, must be solved primarily at the level of the enterprise.

[Mozhin] Yes, and these are closely linked, financial autonomy and self-management. Let's put it like this: Insofar as the incomes of the enterprises and earnings are now going to depend upon the financial results and the activity of the enterprise it is natural that the labor collective should have an interest in being managed by an efficient person, by an efficient, sensible person. They are not going to put up with someone who doesn't cope with his duties. This is the point. If we place a serious economic responsibility on the enterprise such as financial autonomy—and this is a severe economic responsibility—then on the other hand this enterprise must be given the opportunity for more independence, and this includes the election of its own leaders.

[Voznesenskiy] Leaders in the plural, yes, not just the director but a definite hierarchy of these leaders.

[Mozhin] According to the law the intention is that the leaders of ships, of teams and the directors of enterprises will be elected.

[Voznesenskiy] But at the same time it would obviously be unfair to place responsibility for possible hold ups a priori exclusively upon the managements of enterprises, for the democratization of management presupposes the creation of labor collective councils and labor collective councils do not just open up real possibilities for people to participate in management but place upon these people, both those who belong to the councils and those who elect these councils, real responsibility for the work of the whole collective.

[Mozhin] Yes, and the result here is the organic combination of economic methods, financial autonomy, with the stepping up of the activity of the entire labor collective. The collective must perceive itself to be the master. The working people must feel themselves to be the master in the production plant. It is from there that their activity and their responsibility for the enterprise's

affairs have to grow, because people are not going to be made interested by ordering them around. If, on the other hand, he does develop an interest, not just his own personal interest, but a collective interest, naturally, then this creates a completely new situation in the enterprise and the practical experience of these teams which really are working on a team contracting basis, where they really are working on contracting and financial autonomy, testifies to the fact that the attitude to the work changes, the attitude to the business changes and so on. [passage omitted]

[Voznesenskiy] What must be done in the ministries and in the other highest management links for them to prepare themselves for working in the new way, and in their enterprises, too, to be sufficiently well prepared for this?

[Mozhin] I would put it like this: The ministries have brought down to enterprise level norms, limits, and so on, though of course a lot of questions are still cropping up at a number of enterprises and the task of the ministries and the Gosplan, too, it must be said, is to go through the enterprises once again, to see once again if one can make these norms more precise if it is possible and necessary, to verify that there will be orders. This work is now being carried out, it is being carried out with the ministries, it is being carried out in the Gosplan and generally speaking there are some things that can and must be done here. Then one must not forget that not everything depends upon financial autonomy. The stability of the working of the national economy depends upon the extent to which the plan itself is balanced, the extent to which resources and demand are balanced, and so on. Once again it is going to be necessary to check the extent to which the different sides of production are balanced, the extent to which individual industries and enterprises and so on have supplies of material resources, and this is now being done by the Gosplan and by the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. This is a very important task facing our central economic departments.

[Voznesenskiy] Vladimir Potapovich, perhaps there would be some point in our going back to something you mentioned earlier and explaining briefly why it is so acutely necessary now to look back again and again at the work that has already been done in determining the norms and the state orders. What is the problem here?

[Mozhin] Well, let's take the norms. One can read in the press—and a good deal is said on television—about individual enterprises being dissatisfied with the norms they have been given: I am referring primarily to the norms which govern the relationship between the enterprise and the budget. Figures are quoted to the effect that one enterprise has been given a deduction norm of say 10%.

[Voznesenskiy] To the budget from the profit?

[Mozhin] To the budget and from the profit. Another will have been given one of 50%, yet another 80%. This is regarded as a kind of unfairness toward those whose deductions are large, but one must bear in mind the following considerations here. Currently the enterprises, even related enterprises, are in unequal starting positions, and this complexity, this inequality is linked with the fact that in the first place we have not yet changed the system of wholesale prices. There remains, therefore, output which is advantageous, more advantageous and less advantageous, more profitable and less profitable, and of course this has an effect upon the size of the profit; the profit is different, despite the fact that in both places people are working just as hard as each other. There are enterprises where the production assets are newer, where the equipment is more modern, and so on, and there are enterprises which have not undergone reconstruction for a very long time, where the equipment is worn out and where there's not a lot that you can do.

[Voznesenskiy] What's most important you cannot deliver goods of high quality.

[Mozhin] Yes, no matter what the people are like who work there and the way they came up to the starting post, so to speak. There's another point: We are approaching the middle of a 5-year plan period, so to speak. All the financial relationships for the 5-year plan period have been determined. We must, therefore, also be thinking about securing the income side of the state budget which is used for solving the whole of our social program—public health, education, housing, and so on. All of this comes from the state budget and everything cannot be presented in such a way that it must all remain in the hands of the enterprise. All these needs of the whole state must be resolved through the state budget. In the future, of course, especially when the subsequent 5-year plan, the 13th, is being prepared, it is going to be necessary to do everything to make the norms better grounded. [passage omitted]

[Voznesenskiy] You mentioned the need for observance of the letter and the spirit of the law on the state enterprise, Vladimir Potapovich, and this obviously presupposes that there will be very strict observance of the basic principle—or one of the basic principles—which are laid down in this law, the principle of the independence of the enterprise. This, in turn, presupposes that the functions and the responsibilities, the rights and responsibilities, will be redistributed from the senior management links to the junior management links. Here, in my view, we have not yet crossed the Rubicon and definite resistance by ministries and departments is being felt—true, there may be reasons, sometimes objective reasons, in many cases, though, they will be subjective.

[Mozhin] Certainly, there continue to be attempts to issue commands and impose the kind of thing that now cannot be imposed in accordance with the law. But you know that a very great deal of work is taking place at the

present time in accordance with the decisions of the June plenum, to review the structures both of the ministries and the central economic bodies; and republican bodies' and oblast bodies' structures will be reviewed, too; and this will go hand in hand with a serious reduction in the management apparatus, a serious reduction, not the same kind of thing that happened in the past:

[Voznesenskiy] What must be done and what can be done in the party organizations and in the soviets of people's deputies to ease preparations for and changeover to the new economic management conditions?

[Mozhin] There is a new situation and new conditions coming into being now for the work of the party bodies. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has drawn attention to the fact that now it is impossible to take it upon oneself to decide all manner of petty economic matters in the old way, something that unfortunately used to happen. I will tell you, though, that sometimes the party bodies were obliged to deal with matters of economic management. Take, say, the issue of management within a territory. So far we have not had any harmonious way of carrying out, side by side, management by industry. Many issues were not decided at the territory level. The party bodies were obliged to take it upon themselves to decide these issues. Now a new mechanism is being created to cover interaction between enterprises and local bodies, the local budget, and so on. Under the new conditions, when of course there are no longer any grounds for the party bodies to get involved in all these matters, new production and economic directorates are being set up which will take upon themselves the function of integrated territorial development. Here, in addition to these organizational structures, a very important role is going to be played by the economic mechanism covering the interrelationships between the enterprises and the local bodies via the budgetary system. Here, too, you understand, there is to be a change to a normative method. How can I put it? Like the change from prodrazverstka [the compulsory sale to the state of their surpluses by farms in the years 1919-1921] to prodnalog [taxation in kind levied on farms in the NEP period 1921-1923] and this includes relations between enterprises and local bodies. Here there wasn't that subjective mechanism, I would call it, which has come into being where everything is determined by how much they ask the enterprise for or how much the enterprise is able to get from the ministry to give to the town, and so on. Here a strict economic mechanism must be created and worked out under which a certain share of the profit and the payment for the labor resources will be put into the local budget.

[Voznesensky] Vladimir Potapovich, where in your view lies the gurantee that the new radical economic reform will be implemented consistently? It is well-known, after all, that this is our third attempt, essentially, over the past 23-25 years alone, to create a new economic mechanism. The first two failed to provide the result we were counting upon. What is it now that gives us grounds for optimism, if, indeed, we are optimistic?

[Mozhin] There is optimism and this is what it is based on. First and foremost on the difference between this economic reform and the previous ones—take the reform of 1965—which lies in the fact that this reform is integrated in its nature. Whereas in 1965 we were trying to replace individual indicators, primarily planning, though something was done, so to speak, from the point of view of making assessments according to profit and so on, now this reform covers all sides or production activity, the life of the enterprise, planning, the changeover to wholesale trade, the new prices system, the finance and credit mechanism an self-management, which didn't exist before.

[Voznesenskiy] The social sphere, if you like, based upon resources that have been earned.

[Mozhin] But the main thing is that all of this is built upon interests; the inclusion of people's interests is perhaps the main distinguishing feature of the reform, and also of this integrated approach. But I would say the integrated approach here goes further, the fact is that the reform is a part of the overall process of the restructuring of our society which includes restructuring in the areas of intellectual life, cultural life, social life, and political life. These are all things which depend upon each other. Without development of the democratic principle we are not going to be able to create moral economic conditions for the enterprise, whereas the economic reform, on the other hand, places real foundations, real ground beneath the process of democratization. Involving the broad masses of the working people in the restructuring process, including the process of restructuring the economy, by means of democratic methods is, I would say, the guarantee. This is what makes restructuring irreversible, when the working people, themselves, directly, enter into this process via the methods of economic management, self-management, and so on. Then one can begin to speak about irreversibility. It seems to me that that is the main guarantee.

[Voznesenskiy] Thank you for the conversation. I would like to tell our viewers that this topic, a topic which excites very wide circles of people, will be continued in different programs on Central Television. All the best to you.

Agricultural

Solutions Outlined for Unprofitable Farms

PM201015 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1

[I. Abakumov "Agricultural Review": "Time To Repay Debts"]

[Text] A piece of news that in no way can be deemed agreeable: According to preliminary data from the USSR Gosagroprom 7,202 sovkhozes and kolkhozes operated

at a loss last year. That is to say, 14.6% of all the country's farms. The figures do not yet claim to be absolutely accurate, but it is already clear they exceed the 1986 level.

There is always an explanation: A dirty trick was played by the weather, which, as you will remember, made it necessary to harvest the crop literally by hand and resulted in additional labor costs. The extra payments for good-quality produce, on which the farmers were counting, vanished in the September rains. The bad weather proved once again that farms with a fragile economy can count only on the chance gift of fate in the shape of a successful spring, summer, and fall, and that it is impossible to carry on without making changes in their collectives.

Those changes have been determined. With the transition of the agro-industrial associations of a number of republics and oblasts to full economic accountability and self-financing, a whole package of such measures have been worked out now, ranging from necessary startup economic aid to changing the specializations of loss-making kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the leasing out of some of their land or its transfer to industrial enterprises for the organizing of subsidiary plots.... In short, going as far as to strip chronically laggard farms of their economic independence.

Auctioning off a sovkhoz sounds, frankly, impressive. All this can be played to the gallery. Imagine the chairman of the rayon agro-industrial association council mounting the rostrum dressed in a white jacket and impassionedly declaiming: "Esteemed members of the public, may I please have your attention, you are being offered a farm with an annual loss of R1 million. It can be bought complete or in separate lots, including individual tractors and cows..." The members of the collective of the ruined sovkhoz raise handkerchiefs to their eyes and murmur, just look at us, we didn't know how to work properly and now stand disgraced before the whole neighborhood.

Would not such a performance be instructive? Perhaps. But one would not want to live to see such a day. Such a step is only to be resorted to in a case of special emergency. Much will have to be evaluated and pondered before that is embarked on. After all, the workers and kolkhoz members themselves are not usually very much to blame for their farms going bankrupt. You couldn't exactly say that they have been able to make any decisions until recently, could you? No, decisions were taken for them. Consequently their ruin was not the result of the subtle intrigues of their competitors but was caused by a bureaucratic style and method of management. Thus we should not be talking about eliminating loss-making farms but eliminating loss-making. This is far more complex. Nonstandard solutions must be sought. Experience is available.

In Pskov Oblast's sparsely populated Pytalovskiy Rayon, for example, the family contract based on the individual farmstead has been applied as a means of improving nonprofitable farms. Milk is purchased from such links at state purchase prices. If a family looks after 5 cows, one member of the family does not have to go to work on the sovkhoz, but this still counts toward his length of service [stazh yemu idet].

The experiment on Tselinograd Oblast's Manshuk Mametova Sovkhoz has become widely known. That farm became profitable in 3 years solely owing to the lease contract introduced there by chief economist V. Shvets. Relations between workers and the administration are built solely on an economic basis: The team leases the means of production from the sovkhoz and sells to it the crop that is grown. The cost of services and advance payments—that is to say, the collective's wages—are deducted from receipts. The machine operators no longer need to be persuaded that they are in charge of their own land, because they feel it themselves. It is futile now to try to issue commands to them. They listen to advice but regarding orders say roughly as follows: If the chief insists on having things his own way, any losses will have to be paid to the team through the court. Unusual? Certainly! The sovkhoz director, seeing how unparalleled this was, began to ask the rayon authorities to provide another chief economist, a more placid one. Fortunately, for the farm he was not too insistent. The lease contract went from strength to strength. This kind of labor organization has already been applied in 45 sovkhozes in the oblast.

It is not ruled out that yet another kind of contract—the cooperative contract—will appear this year. The fundamentals of it were recently expounded at the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference on the Problems of Managing the Agro-Industrial Complex' Social Development, held in Barnaul, in a report by the chairman of the "Snyatinka" Agricultural Cooperative, about whose creation we have already informed our readers. To eliminate loss-making by weak farms and end state subsidies to them he has proposed that these weak farms be used as the basis for setting up a new type of enterprise—state cooperative farms. What are these?

Nothing very terrible. Sovkhoz contract links are to be made into cooperatives which will have the status of a juristic person with a current account in the agro-industrial bank. The farm is to become a democratically run association of these cooperatives—a state cooperative farm. It will be an enterprise with a mixed form of ownership: The basic means of production—land, machinery, and premises—will belong to the state while circulating capital—seeds and livestock—will belong to the cooperative. The fact that the enterprise will not be loss-making is almost certainly guaranteed, as cooperative members will have to live on their profits rather than rely on their wages. Consequently there will be a direct incentive to reduce outlays on production output and increase this output.

This idea aroused a great deal of interest at the conference among practical workers, scientists, and party workers. Many of them were eager to learn the details and discussed the need to experiment with the help of science. One attempt to organize such an experiment has already happened.

It was the briefest but most constructive meeting between a scientist and a practical worker that I had ever seen. In the space of just 30 minutes they had made it quite clear that their opinions on the point of the "Snyatinka" Cooperative's existence were completely different. Professor V. Rutgayzer from the USSR Gosplan Economics Institute contended that a network of these cooperatives would benefit the "Veriginskiy" Sovkhoz under self-financing conditions. Director A. Sarantsev, who took on this tottery farm a month ago, insisted that the livestock must be fed and that matters would take a turn for the better without the help of any cooperatives. When the discussion was into its 31st minute the professor extended his hand to the director:

"Shall we wager that the prime cost of meat production at the 'Snyatinka' will be lower than at the sovkhoz?"

"Okay!"

I threw up my hands at this point. But I have related this episode so that there may be no illusions that the self-financing policy which has been announced will immediately force all the managers of loss-making farms to introduce various forms of contract. People still have to know how to do this. Weakness in managerial cadres is perhaps the main reason why the number of loss-making farms is not decreasing. After all, rural areas are now a real paradise for any thinking person: All the sluices which used to hold back initiative now appear to be open.

Incidentally, all is not lost for the "Veriginskiy": The enthusiasm of its manager is quite a positive asset.

Scientific

'Progress-34' Automatic Cargo Craft Launched

LD210151 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0125 GMT 21 Jan 88

["The Launch of an Automatic Cargo Craft Has Been Carried Out; 'Progress-34' In Flight; TASS Report"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] In accordance with the program for the further work of the Mir scientific research complex, the launch of the automatic cargo craft Progress-34 was carried out in the Soviet Union on 21 January 1988 at 0152 Moscow time.

The aim of the launch is to deliver expendable materials and various cargo to the manned Mir complex.

The Progress-34 craft has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

apogee—277 km;

perigee—191 km;

period of revolution—88.8 minutes.

orbital inclination—51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information data, the onboard systems of the automatic cargo craft are working normally.

Gromyko Speaks at Cosmonaut Award Ceremony

PM201643 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[TASS report: "Awards to Cosmonauts"]

[Excerpts] A.A. Gromyko presented high state awards to a group of hero-cosmonauts in the Kremlin 18 January.

An order of Lenin went to Twice Hero of the Soviet Union USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut Yu.V. Romanenko; an order of Lenin and second "Gold Star" medal to Twice Hero of the Soviet Union USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut A.P. Aleksandrov; and orders of Lenin, "Gold Star" medals, and "USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut" chest insignia to Heroes of the Soviet Union USSR Pilot-Cosmonauts A.I. Laveykin and A.S. Levchenko.

A.A. Gromyko declared in a speech on presenting the awards:

Dear Comrades!

Today high state awards have been presented to another group of Soviet cosmonauts. Yuriy Viktorovich Romanenko, Aleksandr Ivanovich Laveykin, Aleksandr Pavlovich Aleksandrov, and Anatoliy Semenovich Levchenko have received them in this historic Kremlin Hall. In this way, the motherland marks a new outstanding success achieved in space exploration.

It is not so easy to choose words to express the entire magnitude of the exploit of these sons of the Soviet people, an exploit which has once again brought glory to our country.

A distinguishing feature of the flight that has ended is that it was the longest in the history of the conquest of space. Pilot-Cosmonaut Yuriy Romanenko, Soviet hero-citizen and member of the Leninist Party of Communists, worked in earth orbit for 326 days. This sounds like fiction, but it is reality. It is an outstanding and multifaceted contribution to science and practice connected with the conquest of space.

One facet of this flight is the fact that Hero Romanenko's record demonstrates the previously unknown potential of the human organism. The new data obtained as a result of one man's prolonged weightlessness will undoubtedly stand people in good stead on their long-term spaceflights in the future.

Working fruitfully with Yuriy Romanenko in the Mir station were, first, Flight Engineer Aleksandr Laveykin for 6 months, and then Aleksandr Aleksandrov for 160 days. Both heroes fulfilled the motherland's mission with honor.

Cosmonaut-Researcher—and now Hero—Anatoliy Levchenko coped successfully and worthily with his duties.

In the course of a long manned flight, the crew fulfilled an extensive and complex program of research and experiments. These are all of great significance for the development of science and for the economy and are directed toward the good of the Soviet Union and the good of the other countries participating in this peaceful program.

A historic step was taken quite recently, which opened up the way to achieving a nuclear-free world. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was signed.

The people of the earth have gained the hope that a reliable barrier will be erected in the way of the militarization of space. All people on earth, wherever they live, raising their eyes to the stars, want to be sure that space will not be the source of their destruction. Space must be only peaceful. It was in the name of this that the heroes we are honoring today accomplished their exploit.

Our country's new success opens up still more widely the potential for international cooperation in space research and exploration.

It is also a profoundly symbolic fact that, as is known, a citizen of the friendly Syrian Arab Republic, who has also been granted the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, was on board the Mir station as part of an international expedition.

Dear Comrade Cosmonauts!

I cordially congratulate you on the high state awards. I am sure that you will respond to this so high and deserved assessment of your successes on the part of the party's Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government with new achievements in your unusual, selfless work of opening up space for the good of our socialist motherland and all mankind.

Permit me wholeheartedly to wish you good health and happiness. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev sends you cordial congratulations. Pass on our congratulations and greetings to your relatives and friends. [passage omitted]

The speeches by A.A. Gromyko and the space heroes were greeted with applause.

Present at the award presentation were P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; Yu.D. Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and other officials.

'SDI Testing' Source of Space Debris

LD201126 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 20 TASS—The International Committee on Space Research (COSPAR) has submitted to the U.N. General Assembly a report looking into the problem of space litter as a potential source of harmful ecological effects.

It said that over the three decades since the start of the space era, opened by the launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957, some 18,000 artificial objects had been registered in outer space.

According to approximate estimates, only five percent of these are "active" satellites, while more than 60 percent are all kinds of debris sized more than 10 centimeters across.

Some 50 of them are believed to hold radioactive material.

Significantly, a metal particle just half a milimeter in diameter, but coasting at a speed of 30,000 kilometers an hour, can easily pierce a spacesuit and even kill a spaceman. Although the risk of such a collision still remains very low, it is much higher than that of an encounter with micrometeorites.

There has already been a whole number of cases where satellites were damaged by space debris. When returned to earth, an electronic module from a U.S. satellite meant to study peak solar activity, for example, was found to have 160 dents—a result of nothing more than paint particles ramming into it.

After one of its missions, the space shuttle Challenger, which later exploded on blastoff, featured a three-millimeter-deep crater in its porthole following a hit by a paint particle some 0.2 millimeters in size.

Although space debris is, for the most part, a product of "normal" space activity, there is suspicion of deliberate actions to destroy objects and produce it in especially large quantities.

One of the U.S. anti-satellite weapon tests, for example, left 257 observed and a much larger number of unobserved fragments of a satellite.

SDI testing thus is even today is potential source of a tremendous amount of space garbage and, therefore, a threat to the peaceful exploration of space.

Dunayev on 'Self-Funding' for Space Research

LD201746 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 20 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 20 TASS—"Perestroyka in the USSR has comprised also such a specific area as cosmonautics. We are striving to ensure that work in space near the earth be based on self-funding", said Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the USSR Glavkosmos, the chief administration for the development and use of space engineering for the economy and research. He spoke today at a press conference devoted to the recently concluded prolonged space flight of cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko, Aleksandr Aleksandrov and other cosmonauts.

"It is yet difficult to assess in roubles the potential economic effect of all the work carried out during the longest ever space flight", Dunayev said. "But there have been quite specific and substantial results of some kinds of work of the crew in space on a commercial basis."

The cosmonauts spoke about their varied research and experiments in the interests of the country's economy. For instance, on orders from geologists they photographed the structure of the Sikhote-Alin range, the Caucasus, specific gas bearing structures in the area of the Caspian. In the interests of agriculture, they conducted the observation of the ripening of crops in the Ukraine, in the Volga reaches, in Central Asia.

Information received from orbit makes it possible to get a more specific picture of the ecological situation in the area of Siberian Lake Baykal, close to large industrial cities. Biotechnological experiments promise particular economic effect. Experiments carried out on the "Korund" unit will be used for industrial production of materials in weightlessness conditions.

Institute Director Barsukov on Mars Venture

LD071255 Moscow TASS in English 1144 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—"We cannot reject today the existence of if only the primitive forms of life on Mars just as we cannot answer in the affirmative the question of whether there is life on the 'red planet'", academician Valeriy Barsukov, director of the Geochemistry and Analytic Chemistry Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, told TASS.

"I think that the upcoming venture to Mars and its satellite Phobos will shed light on this question of strong interest to mankind. There is little time left for us to witness this undertaking. The launching of the Soviet space probe of the new modification under the international project 'Phobos' is planned in the first half of July, 1988. The second spacecraft will set off with an interval of just several days.

"They will reach the surface of the small body of the solar system for the first time ever. The project provides for exploring Phobos itself as well as Mars, the Sun and also interplanetary space". Barsukov recalled that scientists from Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Finland, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Sweden and the European Space Agency are involved in elaborating the scientific programme "Phobos", developing complex equipment and performing experiments. The tests of the first and the second vehicles will be completed in February and January this year.

Speaking about the prospects for exploring the "red planet", Barsukov noted that both the Soviet and U.S. programmes envisaged the launching of unmanned craft early in the 1990s to explore the planet. I hope, he went on, that the efforts to deliver Martian cargo to Earth will succeed before the turn of the century.

He underlined the international character of the programme to study Mars. I hold that the Martian projects should become of universal character, that is involve the world's best scientists, Academician Barsukov said.

UN-Circulated Report Notes Soviet Space Gains

LD211049 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT 21 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 21 TASS—A report of the International Astronautical Federation on the main achievements in the exploration and peaceful uses of outer space in 1987 has been circulated at the U.N. headquarters. The report points out a considerable progress made by the Soviet Union in space exploration.

The compilers of the report are of the opinion that the successful launching of the new booster rocket Energia by the Soviet Union in May last year became the main event in the field of the development of space transport systems. The launch signified the emergence of utterly new versatile booster rocket systems. At the same time, the report points out, Western countries continued to experience difficulties connected with booster rockets despite the fact that the French Ariane rocket was launched in September last year following a series of setbacks. The People's Republic of China and Japan also effected a number of successful launches last year.

The report emphasises that the Soviet Union, indisputably, scored major achievements in the field of manned space flights last year. This applies, first of all, to the record-long space flight by Soviet cosmonaut Yuriy Romanenko as well as the experiments on board the manned orbital complex Mir.

People in the world showed a lively interest in the exploration of Mars and in the possibility of a manned space flight to the planet next century. In this connection the report mentions preparations now under way for the implementation of the project Phobos.

While noting the increased interest in space research, the authors of the report at the same time hold that there is still insufficient realisation in the world of the importance of peaceful uses of outer space which bring considerable benefits to mankind.

TASS Reports Made Available on TV Sets

PM201459 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 7

[A. Kanashkin article: "Newspaper on the Television Screen"]

[Text] Is it possible to use a television signal to transmit textual information at the same time as pictures?

That was the question that specialists at TASS and the USSR Ministry of Communications set themselves, and they found the answer: Yes, it is possible. It also emerged during their research that an ordinary television screen can be turned into an "electronic newspaper" containing up-to-the-minute news that can be received by means of a special device.

What was it, then, that led engineers to this quest? TASS, as one of the world's largest news agencies, receives and transmits enormous masses of information through its global correspondent network and array of modern technical facilities. The efficiency of its work depends in many respects on the rapidity and quality with which a report reaches the consumer, that is to say, on the means of delivery. An extensive network of traditional communications channels—ranging from low-speed telegraph lines to high-speed channels, including satellites—are now employed for this.

Meanwhile, television broadcasting covers an enormous part of the territory of the Soviet Union. The First Television Program can be watched by 93% of the country. Soviet television has extended far beyond the borders of the motherland by means of the Moskva satellite system. The task of combining TASS textual information with the television signal was the next logical step.

At the beginning of 1987, this task was discussed at the USSR Ministry of Communications and TASS. Specialists from the State Radio Scientific Research Institute were involved in the study. The principal problems of transmitting information were resolved and the technical solutions worked out and experimentally tested in under a year. Digitally encoded TASS reports were incorporated in the TV signal together with USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting programs and have since been broadcast through the television network, although we do not see them at home.

The first TASS news reception centers, in the USSR Embassies in India and the PRC, were set up at the end of the year. TASS reports can be viewed on television screens there. They are, at the same time, automatically printed out on paper by electronic printing machines.

The technical solutions found are original, involve no extra capital investment, and do not require setting up at the transmission end the special computer centers usually used in world practice to transmit teletext. Rapid and high-quality reception of textual information is ensured wherever a Soviet television signal is received.

This method makes it possible to transmit not just TASS reports but other information, too.

Thus, the first stage of work in using a TV signal to transmit additional information has been successfully resolved. Improving the equipment for transmitting and receiving this information and the study of the technological, economic, and financial questions involved in bringing the new system into operation are now on the agenda.

Meanwhile Soviet industry has begun work to create text receivers enabling viewers to call up the information on their domestic television screens.